1:Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

otto

Kinship, Status, and Sex in South Celebes
(Verwantschap, Stand en Sexe in Zuid-Celebes)

By H. Th. Chabot

J.B. Wolters' Publishing Company, Ltd.
1950

Groningen-Jakarta

Translated from the Dutch by Richard Neuse

Human Relations Area Files
1960

/Title Page/

1: Chabot--i E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar
OG6

Foreword

000 The completion of this book signifies for me the end of a period that had actually ended earlier. The Second World War prevented the normal publication of the data gathered before 1942, and after the war I did not think I should continue before a study of Makassarese-Buginese culture had appeared.

In looking back over the past years, I am gratefully indebted to all those who have been ready to give me their friendship and help in the most varied forms.

In the first instance, my gratitude goes to the late Professor B. ter Haar, who furnished me with the instruction to investigate adat law in South Celebes. His letters with constantly stimulating questions and comments will always remain a pleasant memory to me.

I am grateful to Professor C. T. Bertling, Chairman of the District Courts of Macassar in 1937, under whom it was possible to consolidate my uncertain position as an unemployed official without a degree, and who later gave constant evidence of his genuine interest in my work.

Furthermore, I am indebted to Professor A. A. Cense, linguist in the service of the government at Macassar until 1941, at whose office I was able to work all those years, and who was always prepared to give me the benefit of his extensive knowledge of the language, country, and people of South Celebes.

In 1948 Professor Rd. Soepomo was able to return to me parts of chapters that had been sent to Jakarta in 1941 and kept there by him. I should like to extend my gratitude to him for this here.

114 My fondest memories will be of my field work in the kingdom of Goa, more particularly in the adat community of Borongloë, both before as well as after the war. 000 To the Prince of Goa and to the head of the adat community, Hamzah Daëng Tompo, I herewith express my very special thanks for the hospitality that

/v cont./

600 I enjoyed in their domain. I should especially mention the
[123] kinsmen of the last-mentioned adat community head,
Messrs. Manggaukang Daëng Kulle and Galasi Daëng Kio',
in whose houses I was allowed to stay regularly. I cherish
memories of many evenings spent pleasantly with them.

I always think back with the greatest pleasure to my collaboration with the assistant to the government linguist, /vi/ Mr. Abdurrahim. It is his great knowledge of matters concerning the kin group /familie/ to which I am largely indebted for my improved understanding of the Makassarese group of relatives /verwantengroep/.

With respect to the postwar period, I owe special thanks to Professor G. J. Held, both for the fact that he obtained official support for me to gather the necessary material in an area already familiar to me, as well as for his critical and constructive comments after he had read the manuscript.

123 Finally I thank my wife, who followed me with our daughter to Borongloë, both for her assistance during the field work, when her contacts with the women of the vicinity provided me with data concerning this group that would otherwise have escaped me, as well as for her help in correcting proof. /vii/

Table of Contents

000

Page

Foreword i
Table of Contents iii
Introduction. The Investigation 1
Chapter I. Kinship 19
- The Bilateral Related Group 20
- Endogamy 28
- The Family 31
- Kinship Terms 36
- The Household 38
  - Composition 38; Marriage Residence 41; Sexual Relationships between Members of a Household 43; Household Tasks 47.
- Differences between Large and Small Groups of Relatives; Integration 50
- The Relationship of the Bilateral Group of Relatives to the Land 52
- The Harvest Ritual 59
- Horizontal Mobility 66
  - The Relationship of Place of Residence to Place of Birth 67; Migrations 69; Colonizations 76.
- The Worship Community. 81
  - Essentials of the Ritual 81; The *Pinati* 82; The *Parappo* 84; The *Rojong* Song 85; Food Taboos 85; *Pantasa'* 86.
- The Ornament-Worship Community 88
  - An Ornament In Statu Nascendi 98; The Sacred Spot of Borongloë 99; Summary 101.

Page

Chapter II. Social Status 103
    Introduction: 103
    The Relationship of Kinship and Social Status 109
        Marriage Policy 110; The Bride Price 114;
        Vertical Mobility of Individuals 124;
        Vertical Mobility of Cultural Elements 129.
    The Relationship of High and Low. 133
        The System of Followers 133; Large
        Landownership 144; Slaves (ata) 149;
        Loyalty Oath 154. /viii/
    Opposition 157
    Acculturation Phenomena 177
    Expectation of Salvation 181

Chapter III. Sex 188
    Introduction 188
First Part. 189
    Types of Conduct 189
        Upbringing 189; Division of Labor 193;
        Forms of Social Intercourse 197; Permissible Contacts 199; Secret Contacts 201.
    Personality Norms 204
    Phenomena of Inadequacy. 205
        Homosexuality 205; Unmarried People 214;
        The Koro Phenomenon 224; Prostitution
        227.
    A Phenomenon of Superiority 228
        Polygamous Marriage 228.
Second Part 235
    Sexual Union in Marriage. 235
    Elements of the Wedding Ritual. 242
        The Announcement 242; Water Sprinkling 243; Steaming 246; Plucking the

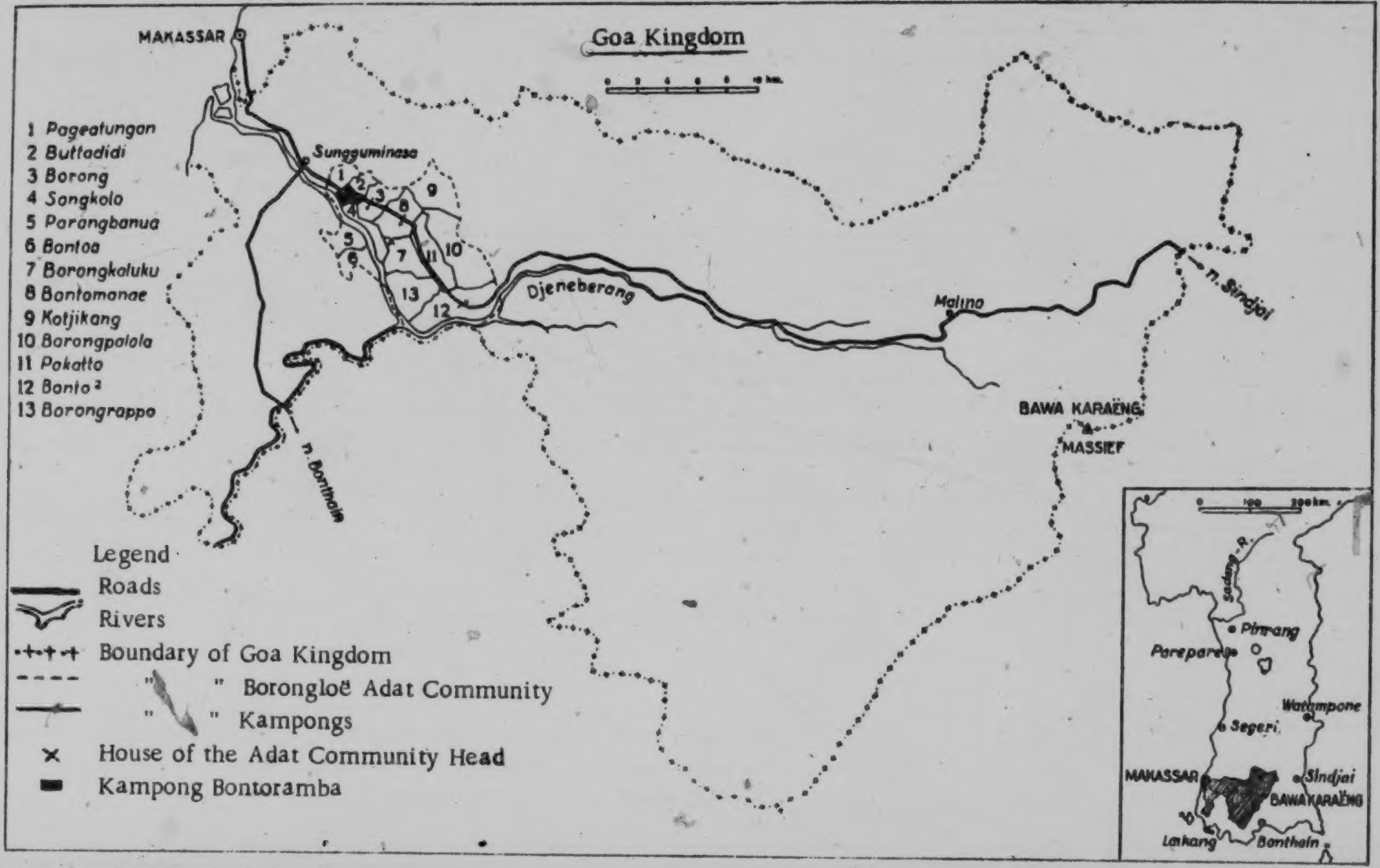
000

Page

Eyebrows 246; Awaiting the Karuntigi Leaves 247; Address to Welcome the Bridegroom 248; The Wedding Ceremony According to the Moslem Rites 259; The First Touch 262; The Pushing Game 262; The First Joint Meal 263; The First Joint Bath 264; Being "Good" 265.

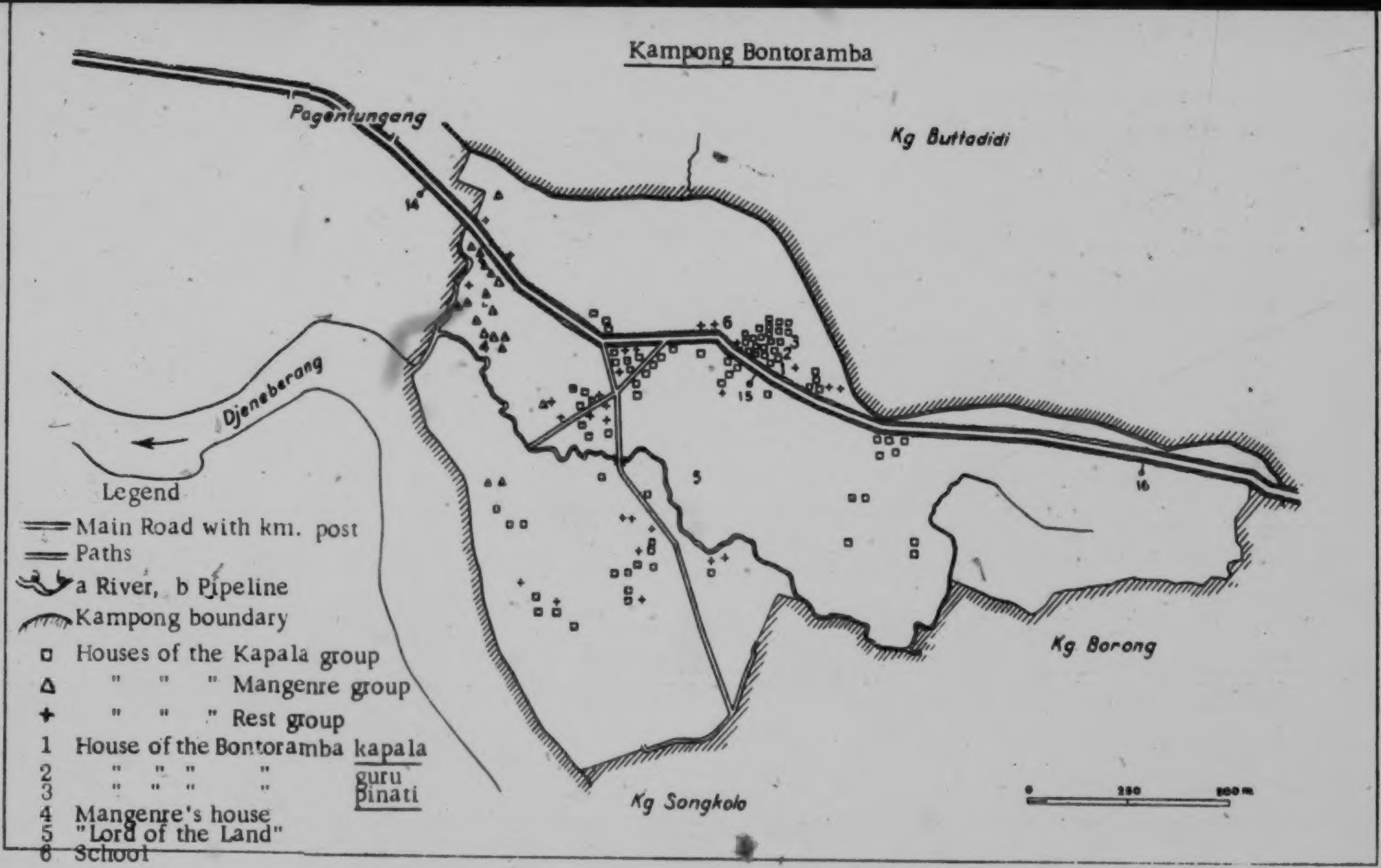
Child Marriage 271
Refusal of Sexual Union in Marriage 274
Selection of Marriage Partners on the Basis of Kinship. 280
Selection of Marriage Partners According to Social Status. 287
Third Part 290
The Siri' Phenomenon 290
Silariang Marriage 293
Erangkale. 307 /ix/
Extramarital Pregnancy. 311
Reconciliation 317
Declaration of Death 322
Summary. 324
Kesimpulan /not included in translation/
Appendix 330
Bibliography. 343

/x/


Goa Kingdom
0 2 4 6 8 10 km.
MAKASSAR
Sungguminasa
1 Pageatungan
2 Buttadidi
3 Borong
4 Songkolo
5 Parangbanua
6 Bontoa
7 Borongkaluku
8 Bontomanae
9 Kotjikang
10 Barongpalola
11 Pokatto
12 Bonto²
13 Borongrappo
Djeneberang
Malino
n. Sindjai
n. Bonthain
BAWA KARAËNG
MASSIEF
Legend
Roads
Rivers
Boundary of Goa Kingdom
" " Borongloë Adat Community
" " Kampongs
House of the Adat Community Head
Kampong Bontoramba
0 100 200 km.
Sadang. R.
Pinrang
Parepare
Watampone
Segeri
MAKASSAR
Sindjai
BAWA KARAËNG
Laikang
Bonthain

102
103
131
144
1:Chabot--vi E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

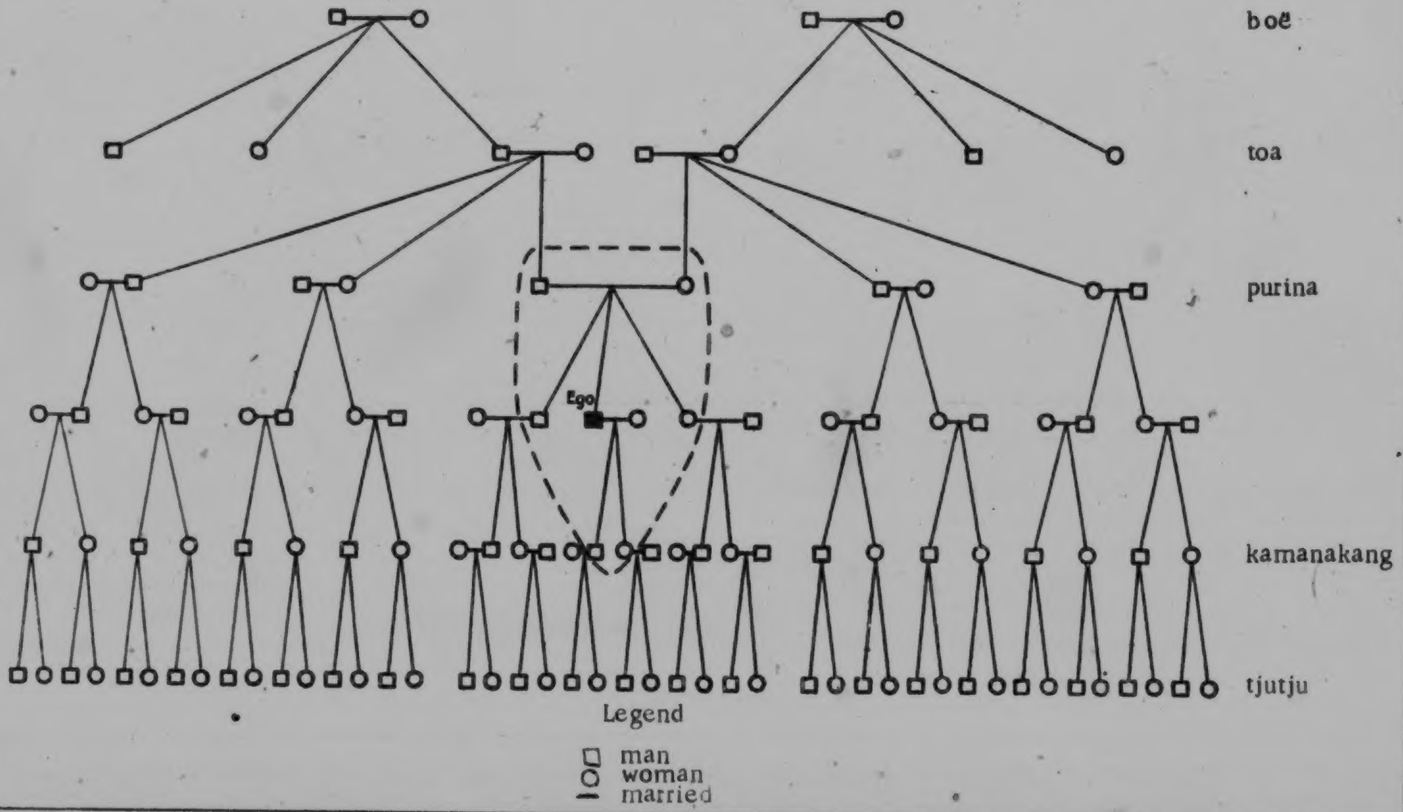
Kampong Bontoramba


Pagentungang
Kg Buttadidi
Djeneberang
14
15
16
1
2
3
4
5
6
Kg Borong
Kg Songkolo
0
250
500m
Legend
Main Road with km. post
Paths
a River, b Pipeline
Kampong boundary
□ Houses of the Kapala group
△ " " " Mangenre group
+ " " " Rest group
1 House of the Bontoramba kapala
2 " " " " guru
3 " " " " pinati
4 Mangenre's house
5 "Lord of the Land"
6 School

1:Chabot--viiE-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6
102
361
491

1:Chabot–viii E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

Kinship Terminology


boe
toa
purina
Ego
kamanakang
tjutju
Legend
□ man
○ woman
— married

Introduction

The Investigation

000

The description of a culture arises from the contact of the investigator with the community which is the object of his investigation. In order to be able to judge a description, it is necessary, therefore, to be acquainted with the task the investigator set himself, his theoretical schooling, and his personal attitude. The contact of the investigator and the object of investigation is then revealed in the selection of the community where it is to be carried out, in his introduction to it, in his material living circumstances, his informants, and the language in which he communicates, and, finally, in the technique with which he gathers his data.

With respect to all these points, there are only a small number of rules derived from experience at the disposal of the investigator going into the field, and these can mean no more to him than just so many general principles (1).

1. Readable reports concerning these are to be found in:
1) J. Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town*, New York, 1949, second printing, pp. 1-41.
2) W. Lloyd Warner and P. S. Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community*, Yale University Press, 1941, pp. 1-75.
3) R. Firth, *Malay Fishermen: Their Peasant Economy*, London, 1946, pp. 307-318.
4) M. J. Herskovits, *Man and His Works*, New York, 1948, pp. 79-93.

/1 cont./ The latter put together his remarks under the attractive title, "The Ethnographer's Laboratory."

In this introduction only an attempt can be made to present the author's own difficulties and experiences.

121 The object of the investigation was the rural community of the Makassarese and Buginese.

Initially, before the Second World War, the task was to give an account of the adat law of South Celebes. It has been impossible to carry out this instruction. The material gathered was lost during the war. Only parts of chapters that were ready and had been sent to Jakarta were rescued. The plan concerning adat law, nevertheless, still finds expression in the paragraphs about large landownership, polygamous marriage, and, in the third section of the last chapter, that about marriage by flight. This plan therefore determined the manner in which this investigation was begun.

114 /2/ It very soon became apparent that a choice would have to be made with respect to the kind of description of adat law that was to be achieved. Two very different types of publication are to be found in the literature dealing with adat law. Both types are designed to support the judge in his task of administering justice according to adat law. In the first category, which is most clearly represented in the work of Vergouwen (1), the investigator starts out from the idea that the judge is not acquainted with the community in which he has to administer justice. Accordingly, the author first tries to give information about the community's structure and then to describe the content of the

---

[113] 1. J.C. Vergouwen, *Het rechtsleven der Toba-Bataks* /The Legal Usage of the Toba-Batak/, 1933.

114 /2 cont./ norms existing in this community in such a manner that these will become comprehensible to the judge who is a stranger.

In the second type of publication, the investigator is not concerned with the structure of the community. He assumes this to be essentially known and concentrates on presenting, "in the form of judicial rules deductions that in his opinion are justified by the available material of facts." This material consists primarily of cases that occurred in the desa /native term for "village community." -- Tr./ and of jurisprudence. Soepomo was the promotor of this type of publication (2).

> 2. R. Soepomo, a) "Verslag omtrent het onderzoek naar het adatgrondenerfrecht in het gewest Jogjakarta buiten de hoofdplaats /Report on the Investigation of Adat Land Inheritance Right in the Jogjakarta District Outside the City/" Mededeelingen van de Afdeeling Adatrecht, 1930, b) Het Adatprivaatrecht van West Java /The Adat Private Law of West Java/, 1933. For the quotations in this paragraph, see the introduction to this book by B. ter Harr, p. iv.

The simultaneous occurrence, of these two types can only be understood historically. For a number of decades van Vollenhoven left his mark on the work of investigators and their publications. He produced the system in which all data concerning the community could be placed; but this system was juridical in its structure. Van Vollenhoven particularly directed attention to legal usage; he forged the necessary juridical terms. At the same time all data regarding the community were of concern since they served as materials for the juridical structure.

114 /2 cont./ The conception was as strange as it was grand. It was, however, only imaginable in a period when juridical and judicial work had to be carried out in a community completely unknown to the judges. Ethnographic material was therefore gathered by jurists or by juridically schooled officials of the Inland Administration /3/ and incorporated into the given juridical system. In view of the fact that this system was given and the ethnographic material lay at hand, it speaks for itself that their publications were always constructed on this combination. They remained, however, primarily descriptions of milieu providing a welcome prop for the strange judge in his task of administering justice in a community unknown to him. But they were not ethnological studies satisfying the demands of the profession, nor sociological legal studies, nor normative legal ones.

The prop appeared to be insufficient for the judges, however. The norms according to which the judge had to pass judgment appeared not to be clearly discernible in these descriptions. Another mode of presentation was accordingly looked for. In this, Soepomo led the field. He recorded various legal cases which had taken place in the kampongs with their solutions, and on this he based his conclusions, which he presented in the form of legal rules easily manipulated by the judge. In these publications, therefore, an acquaintance with the community's structure on the part of the judges was assumed, however unconscious it might be. Here the objection is that the interaction of conflicting norms, to be found in every community but especially in those where a great number of changes take place within a short period of time, does not become clearly apparent. The judge lacks the data to assess what this interaction is. The latter can be demonstrated to him only by an analysis of the community's structure.

121 At the outset of my investigation of adat law, I chose the Vergouwen type /of approach/, and I did so more unconsciously than on the basis of an analysis of the two methods. The notion

121 /3 cont./ of an investigation into the driving forces of Makassarese-Buginese culture was always present as a companion motivation for the work on adat law, because, as it was then formulated, the law cannot be understood without a knowledge of the society in which it operates.

After the war, in 1948, when the problem of how the latent knowledge of this culture could be made productive was considered, the decision was made to give a description of its structure. To this end an investigation of an area already
[114] familiar to me from before the war was carried out for six weeks during June and July of both 1948 and 1949.

If the presentation of a structural description is regarded as the task /4/ of the investigator, then it is necessary to give his theoretical schooling. The latter was determined by the lectures of de Josselin de Jong at Leiden and was later developed further by studying Linton's work.

121
114 It appears impossible to treat as a separate factor the third aspect, namely the investigator's personal attitude. This would amount to an analysis of his personality. However, the disadvantage that personal attitude inevitably entails so long as just one investigator is describing a community was always strongly felt by me. I gladly give support to Wagley when he agrees with the Chinese sociologist Li An-Che, who declares that an area study of China "must be executed with the cooperation of Western and Chinese scholars, and that for an understanding of American society we should call upon non-American -- even non-Western -- students as well as upon our own" (1) /cited in English/.

161
ooo The Makassarese and the Buginese at the present time number almost four million people. For hundreds of years they have

---

1. Pamphlet No. 6 published by the Social Science Research Council, New York, 1948, p. 7.

212 For hundreds of years they have
/4 cont./ had their own script and their own literature. The
18] element of strong seclusion is absent in their rural communities, with the exception, perhaps, of a number of thinly populated mountain regions.

114 In the fairly extensive literature one finds a great number of topics dealt with separately, but no comprehensive treatment. The best insight is still given by Kooreman (2). A more recent important study is that by Friederich (3).

[113] 2. P.J. Kooreman, "De feitelijke toestand in het gouvernementsgebied van Celebes en Onderhoorigheden /The Actual State of Affairs in the Government Region of Celebes and Its Dependencies/" Indische Gids, 1883.

[113] 3. H.J. Friedericy, "De Standen bij de Boegineezen en Makassaren /Status among the Buginese and Makassarese/" Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Ned. Indië, 1933, Part 90, Vol. IV, pp. 447-602.

[602] 121 With several authors one repeatedly finds the statement that kinship is regarded as of great importance by Buginese and Makassarese without any further elaboration of this point. The approximation of a community by way of kinship relationships has generally been accepted as correct by ethnologists since Rivers (4). Therefore, my attention first turned to this

4. W.H.R. Rivers, "The Genealogical Method of Anthropological Inquiry," The Sociological Review, Vol. III, pp. 1 ff., 1910.

121 /4 cont./ topic. The kinship terminology served as a starting
point for this purpose.

/5/ Choice of Working Area

123 The stranger who intends to carry out an "adat investigation"
631 in South Celebes -- and all ethnological investigations, those
565 concerned with adat law as well as sociological and similar
investigations, are so termed by the Makassarese and the Buginese
themselves -- first comes in contact with the prince of the
province /Landschap/ or with the head of the adat community
where he wishes to work. One may not bypass the prince and
his kin group /familie/, the nobility, at least not without in-
curring great difficulties later on. For the consequence of
failing to obtain his consent to work in a certain kampong in his
domain is that one loses the much needed good will of a large
part of his subjects who might otherwise become good informants.
Ignoring him is more than just discourtesy; it is an action which,
from the point of view of the prince, expresses hostility. A
highly placed stranger -- and that, after all, includes every
investigator -- is a potential center of power to whom those
who might be less favorably inclined toward the prince might
be drawn and thereby constitutes a danger for the latter.

123 Adat investigation among ordinary kampong people is further
565 suspect because, according to the prince and his kinsmen, the
671 little man has no adat, just as, according to the Dutch bourgeoisie
of half a century ago, the people had no manners. For a man
of the nobility, adat is just that which distinguishes him from
the people; his adat is the real one.

Here at the same time the danger that threatens one who
123 would begin an investigation with the nobility becomes apparent.
He loses the opportunity to obtain an insight into the relation-
ship between high and low, as seen from the standpoint of the
latter. Only after I had expressly declared that it was precisely
[121] the adat of the common people that I wished to study, because
Mr. Friedericy had already described that of the prince, was it
agreed that I should live elsewhere.

121 [631] /5 cont./ The head of the adat community of Borongloë, one of the approximately ten adat communities which formed the province of Goa, was to be my host. I was able to agree to the choice of this adat community of around 14, 000 individuals, since the location in relation to Macassar was favorable; since the head was an energetic young man who made a pleasant impression on /6/ me and who, moreover, knew Dutch, a circumstance which could only facilitate the first contact; and finally, since, as soon became apparent to me, in this region there were no special vexations or corruptions, which frequently create an atmosphere hindering an investigation.

123 The investigator who has found a place to live in the kampong can henceforth avoid the old "adat experts" with great ease. As elsewhere in Indonesia, they constitute a barrier between the investigator and the object of his investigation.

[115] [621] My host was a figure full of vitality who could not possible sit at home for any length of time and who preferred to roam through his domain, talking everywhere, settling things, and drinking coffee. His roving nature had the advantage that I was introduced to many houses of all 14 kampongs of the adat community in the most pleasant way imaginable and thus received a rough general view of what went on. It had the disadvantage that there could be no question of regular daily conversations of any length concerning the facts observed by myself.

At his house I became acquainted with the manner in which this headman's kin group /familie/ treated its servants and other underlings, and I received a first insight into Makassarese kin group /familie/ and nuclear family /gezin/ relationships. Not till then did the important position that the group of relatives /ver wantengroep/ occupies in Makassarese life among those of higher as well as of low /social status/ become clear to me. Therefore, not until then was it possible to attempt a closer analysis and to look around for a group of relatives that could be considered for this purpose.

121 /6 cont./ My choice of a group in kàmpong Bontoramba (1)

[621] 1. One of the 14 kampongs that form the adat community of Borongloë.

was mainly determined by three factors. in the first place this group seemed to display a great amount of cohesion; it had already repeatedly become apparent to me that members of this group were married to each other. In the second place, the kampong head, a prominent man in this group, had seemed favorably disposed toward me on a number of occasions. Thirdly, one of my best informants was married to the daughter of that [115] head. And, finally, the kampong was located so that, compared with many of the others, it was within easy reach.

121 125 In writing up data it had become evident to me earlier that indefinite quantitative adjectives had to be called in repeatedly to describe /7/ relationships without the picture of the related group becoming clear at the same time; the "many" unmarried women, the "few" divorces, the "regular" occurrence of marriages by flight, and the "frequent" marriages of members of the same generation, all these statements are, in the end, not very meaningful. A kampong survey in which attention was paid to all these points seemed to be the best method of obtaining a clearer insight into a great variety of relationships. The first survey took place as early as 1940. However, the material was lost. Not until 1948 did the opportunity present itself to repeat the survey. A kampong territory has fixed boundaries, and since neither the worship of ornaments, the grouping of statuses, nor, finally, kin relationship offered a foothold, I chose this territorial unit as the starting point for further research.

125 The registration took place from house to house and was carried out on the basis of the following questions: 1. the names of the inhabitants of the house; 2. their mutual kin relationship; 3. their place of birth; 4. their kin relationship to the head

125 /7 cont./ of the kampong. In case someone was not related to the Kapala or his wife, it was established whether he was related to a certain Man[illegible]nre, who, as soon became evident to me, occupied a central position in a group of relatives of around 100 Buginese. If this did not appear to be the case either, I looked for kinship connections with neighboring houses. In this way a first general view of the size of the groups of relatives in one kampong territory came into focus.

July 1, 1948 was chosen as the date for the survey.

125 166 In further analysis of the data it appeared that the mobility which had already been noted for the adat community head and which actually was regarded as a troublesome quality by him personally was a trait occurring generally in Makassarese society. This mobility, however, was not reflected in the original figures. For this reason a second survey was carried out a year after the first one. At this time the names of the occupants of the houses were noted down again, and, in cases where there was a divergence from the compilation of the previous year, the reason that led to migration was ascertained and the place where the immigrant had come from and to which the emigrant had gone were noted down.

In so doing, I considered as immigrants those who entered the kampong, and as emigrants those who /8/ left it. Finally, those who changed houses within the kampong in the course of the year were registered as transmigrants.

121 The investigation of the related group thus led to a further investigation into a particular quality of the group: its mobility. This mobility ultimately led to an investigation into the migration of the Makassarese into Buginese country and on some aspects concerning the life of such colonists.

[361] [621] 123

Living Conditions

Kampong Bontoramba is an hour from Macassar by bicycle across an asphalt motor road. A stay in the kampong therefore can neither be compared with one on a remote island nor with

123 /8 cont./ one in a modern city where an investigation is carried out. As far as obtaining writing materials, medicine, photographic materials, and the like is concerned, the difficulties are inconsiderable. But the manner of living, as always, presents challenges. A house of one's own has the advantage of privacy. But there is no empty house to be found in the kampong. To have one constructed meets with objections: it costs extra work and extra money, since building, after all, is not only a question of materials, manpower, and technology, but also one of organization. When I was by myself I always stayed with the head of the adat community in his kampong, or else with my most important informant in Bontoramba.

Being a guest has the advantage that it is easier to provide for oneself. I always ate the menu of my host. During the month of fasting I received a meal apart. Payment for lodgings is never possible; presents are understood; medicine, kajuputih oil, periodicals with illustrations, and photos of members of the household were always welcome as such. There was always room for a cot with a mosquito net, as well as for a writing table and chair; an enclosure created a mandi /bathing/ place and a toilet. Taking lodgings has the further advantage that one takes part in the life of the household without having been expressly invited.

I lived in a house of my own with my wife and daughter for a brief period before the war. In a society such as the [562] one I was dealing with, possessing, as it does, a strict separation of the sexes, I repeatedly obtained data from my wife which otherwise would decidedly have escaped me.

/9/ The lack of privacy is one of the reasons why life in the kampong is extremely tiring for the investigator. It is quite possible to abandon habits if one only knows which. But whoever believes that he can then go on living without adat is in error. To find out the sensitive points is one of the most important activities of the first period, and during the first few weeks it is advisable, therefore, not to do much else but

123 /9 cont. / to look and listen. Everything that the investigator
is able to carry out on top of just listening and looking without
causing any damage during this time is pure gain.

Introduction

The investigator is a foreign element in the community to which he comes to work. The relationship to the individuals in his environment must constantly be adjusted. There are some manners which they accept from him. There are also manners which they find so troublesome, especially after a while, that his contact and thus his work suffers from it. Frequently the first month is decisive in this. Hence a person who feels free to show his disapproval of the stranger's behavior in a way that is comprehensible to the stranger is the best mentor.

As a Dutch official I was regarded as a high guest in Macassar
[554 country. It is discourteous to display one's disapproval of his
576] conduct to a higher person; this violates the profoundest feelings.
My gratitude toward my mentor is therefore so great precisely
because his personality was dynamic enough to allow him to
be a bad Makassare in the sense that, contrary to his feelings,
he nevertheless pointed out my mistakes.

Initially I laughed too loud and talked too loud, for loud
[517 talking and laughing really occur only when several men are
555] together. Then one of them likes to tell tall or absurd stories
because the person who can do this well raises his standing. I
123 learned that as a male guest I belonged in the parlor and that I
574 could not walk through the back; that I could ask men or boys,
and possibly also older women, something, but that young girls
[562 and newly married women landed in difficulties if I so much as
576] greeted them, because this is enough to point to a "contact"
with the stranger, which is forbidden. I noticed that somebody
constantly kept me company and found this troublesome. Only
later did it become apparent that this belongs to the ordinary
courtesies observed toward a guest. /10/ A Makassarese does
not like to be alone and therefore believes that his guest would
also find this unpleasant.

576 /10 cont./ One soon learns that as a distinguished guest one cannot sit down just anywhere when entering a house. It is wrong to sit down where the lowest are supposed to sit, because then the host is ill at ease. It is conceited, and that is disliked, if one sits down directly in the highest /prestige/ side of the house. It is good since it is a token of modesty, which is appreciated, if one sits down a little lower than where one would actually be allowed to take one's place. These are all mistakes which are not held against an occasional visitor, but which will be found troublesome infractions if they occur in the routine of daily life.

574 576 One further learns that, once seated, one may not leave if something is being prepared in the kitchen. It is better to be much too late for a subsequent appointment than to offend one's host by departing. When high Dutch civil and military [648] authorities, who were present at the wedding feast of one of the grandsons of the Prince of Goa in 1741, stood up during the rather long-drawn-out meal and said farewell, people spoke disapprovingly about this occurrence for weeks after in the kampongs. The offer of refreshments is a sign on the part of the host that he wants to do his guests an honor, and an early departure hurts him.

576 I learned that to shake hands does not belong to the customary greeting ceremony. Those present during a conversation or upon departure, including the host, will as much as "touch" the [778] hand of a high guest in order by so doing to obtain something of the good and fortunate, which, after all, adheres to every higher person. A Macassarese is embarrassed by a "firm" handshake.

The statement "I am leaving now" (lampama') is customary and gives one an intimate feeling. The same applies to the question addressed to a person one encounters on the way: "Where are you coming from?" A detailed answer is not expected. Indication of the wind direction suffices. The purpose of question and answer seems merely to be the creation of an intimate atmosphere. A stranger is passed by in silence, but one remains on one's qui vive.

576 /11/ A stranger is first stared at quietly, "in order to get
used to him," as it is said; one looks at his face and judges
whether he is "good" or not. Once established, this judgment,
whose criteria have not become clear to me, is not subject to
much modification.

123 Nobody seemed to find it strange that I participated at a
festive meal in long trousers and not, like the others, in a
576 sarong; but it was regarded as impolite that I kept my shoes on,
and it was found odd when, at a subsequent time, the sarong
fit was "wrong." I am left-handed and therefore ate with that
[264 hand, but the touching of food with the left hand was observed
514] with disgust, because it is considered that one uses one's left
hand in cleaning after defecating.

In themselves these are all small things, but they concern forms of social intercourse which are carried out as a matter of course and thereby furnish emotional security. The foreigner who takes no account of this is offensive, and it is impossible to say beforehand which offense will be felt as so troublesome that his work will suffer from it.

Informants

123 The strict separation of the sexes in this society makes it
difficult for a male investigator to work regularly with a female
[576] informant. The great mobility of the men also makes regular
[166] work with a man difficult. For instance, it was impossible for
me to have daily contact with a number of individuals over a
long period of time in order to give an account of their life.

The men who functioned best as daily informants were not
[115] those who were of the highest standing in their community, but
precisely those who, afflicted with a "clerical" mentality in
the good sense of the word, were in a position to work regularly
and possessed a sense of actuality and detail. Since my stay in
Borongloë after the war lasted for only six weeks both times,
it was possible for me to adapt myself to this typical mobility
by not residing longer than six days in a row with one and the

123 /11 cont./ same host. Each time it struck me again how much easier help was during the first few days compared with the last.

The kampong survey always furnished me with more than one informant per house.

/12/ Language of Communication

000 De Josselin de Jong has written that the investigator who contents himself with collecting information in a language different from that spoken in the region will remain an "amateurish outsider" in the society who will never be taken completely seriously by his informants (1). The judgment sounds harsh; in my experience it is all too just. But in a country where ethnology has developed from linguistics and where several linguists are at work who -- the ethnologists cannot be thankful enough for this -- concern themselves regularly with ethnographic investigations, it must be stressed that for the ethnologist the language is not a goal but a means, albeit an essential means, and that therefore in learning the language it is not necessary to strive for perfection but for a maximum of effectiveness in the briefest possible time.

Firth writes that, equipped with summary data concerning the language of the district where he was going to work, he was able to make himself understood sufficiently for his purpose after two to-three months (2). Du Bois seems to have required

1. J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong, *Studies in Indonesian Culture*, Ch. I, "Oirata, a Timorese settlement on Kisar," Amsterdam, 1937, p. 2.

2. R. Firth, *Malay Fishermen: Their Peasant Economy*, London, 1946, p. 314.

006 /12 cont./ from three to four months for her purposes on Alor (3).

3. C. Du Bois, People of Alor, 1944.

The period of around three months needed for "learning" a language seems ridiculously brief. It just depends on what one means by this. My experience has been that the minimum 123 demand which may be set is that the investigator understands someone who answers his question and who does not speak particularly unclearly. He should be able to follow in large outline communications concerning an event that has taken place. Details can be inquired into at the conclusion of the account. Brief statements between members of a household, exchanged in an offhand manner, will always remain difficult to understand. Only at the very end did I speak Makassarese in the presence of the Prince, and then only concerning a topic well known to me. In the formal court atmosphere a discourtesy is easily committed, and the taking of risks is unnecessary.

I did not notice any troublesome result caused by a bad effect on my contact with the environment through mistakes made in speaking. Those with whom the investigator works regularly get used to his /13/ accent, and, where contact based on mutual interest exists, grammatical mistakes become less important.

Technique of Investigation

066 It is possible to carry out an investigation, first of all, by having previously set-up questionnaires filled out, by regularly controlling the filling out, and by working out the answers obtained; secondly, by participating in the life of a community, by putting one's questions on the basis of the facts one has observed, and by working out the totality of the facts accordingly.

With the first method, the difficulty consists in setting up the questions. Those who set them up start out unconsciously

000 /13 cont./ from their own "value-attitude system"/cited in English/. Those who, in most recent times, take account of as yet unknown systems are thereby forced to keep their questions vague. The consequence is that the lists become so inclusive that they can be no more than a guide in the investigation. They are essentially a further working out of the old Notes and Queries.

The result is that this method is considered reliable only under certain circumstances as, for instance, by an experienced investigator like Firth: "They (the questionnaire methods) are valuable as a check on impressions.... But used alone they are inadequate for many purposes. It is common anthropological experience that statements so obtained are found when checked to have been misleading.... My own view, which I think most anthropologists would support, is that a questionnaire is best used towards the end of one's stay in a community. By then one has already accumulated much check data in advance, and one is in a position to frame questions in a way which will best yield the type of material required (1) /cited in English/.

1. R. Firth, Malay Fishermen: Their Peasant Economy, London, 1946, p. 311.

The second method harbors a difficulty in the analysis of the observed facts and in phrasing questions concerning them. But this method works with considerably more smoothness than the first, because the questions are always adapted to the environment and can always be revised.

Another difficulty is inherent in the choice of facts which have to be employed to give an adequate picture of the culture. /14/. In this case /i.e. the second method/ one has to choose from the mass of facts in part taken down but in part merely present in the awareness of the investigator. With the first

600 /14 cont./ method the material remains limited to the answers written down and the entire responsibility for an adequate picture rests with these answers.

The first method has the advantage over the second one of furnishing quick results (1). It is therefore preferable in those cases where it can be pursued without damage being done to the reliability of the results.

125 The mutual relationship of the two methods has not yet been fully evaluated, however. In the investigation in South Celebes, the latter method has been followed.

In so doing, it appeared impossible to give an exhaustive description of the culture. Only a few aspects could be illuminated.

Nor did it seem possible to give an "objective" description. Time and again a choice had to be made from the mass of facts, and in this choice there lies a subjective element.

121 The initial object of this work to present a cultural description has been adhered to up to the end. With an eye 000 to future investigations, the question may be raised however whether it would not be more in accordance with factual procedure to first set oneself a definite problem and subsequently to explore how this problem was worked out in a certain community. The responsibility of the writer for the choice of his facts and their ordering is thereby in no way reduced. Evans-Pritchard has already given a positive answer to this question (2).

1. See E.E. Evans-Pritchard, Social Anthropology, Inaugural Address, Oxford, 1948, p. 7: "...an intensive study of a single primitive society takes about ten years" /cited in English/. This is the period of time, at any rate, set for a beginner!

000 /14 cont./2. E. E. Evans-Pritchard,
The Nuer, Oxford, 1940, p. 261.

/15/

Chapter I

Kinship

131 Goa Provin[illegible]nds from the ocean to the mountains.
133 The Djene'be[illegible], originating on the almost 3, 000 meters high Ba[illegible]aeng and emerging into the sea just to the south of Macassar, flows entirely through Goa's regions. The large motor highway which connects Macassar with
491
361 Malino, situated 70 kilometers away in the mountain, runs practically parallel with the river. Approximately 10 kilometers outside Macassar lies the little town of Sungguminasa, still entirely in the plain, the residence of the Prince of Goa. Only 30 kilometers further on the road begins to climb
[133] steeply. The 30 kilometers to Sungguminasa lead through an undulating plain where woods and sawahs alternate. Groups of houses lie scattered through the country. At kilometer post 15, just past Sungguminasa, lies Kampong Bontoramba.
369 Elegant automobiles belonging to the residents of the large city roar through it, but this has little influence on village life and everyday thought. Some of the old people have never seen Macassar. For the majority a visit to the large city is a significant event, but more because of the many curiosities to be seen and experienced there than because of the changes to be introduced into one's own life after returning home.

631 Bontoramba is one of the 14 kampongs which form the adat community of Borongloë, and at present Borongloë, together with 10 other adat communities, forms the federative unit which for hundreds of years has been known as Goa Kingdom.

621 /15 cont./ Kampong Bontoramba has approximately
[161] 800 residents. There one finds one of the two public schools which the entire adat community of more than 14, 000 individuals boasts. [368] Along the large road a bicycle repair shop has arisen, and there are more coffee wafong /shops/ than in many other places. A large group of Buginese, attracted by a 166 great deal of fallow land and good transportation facilities, has built its houses there in the course of the last 20 years. The Makassarese who live there at present arrived no more than 60 years ago. Coming and going never takes place en masse in Makassarese country. In successive stages a pioneer receives more members of his kin group in his house; by successive stages other people move away.

A certain period of settlement by a large group is /16/ [554 565] noted mostly when a man of high nobility moves and many follow him. Formerly, in periods of insecurity for the individual, this was probably a more usual manner of migration, but today it no longer is. Thus, around 1900, a large number of kinsmen coming from kampong Pakatto, situated eight kilometers further up the road, settled in Bontoramba. As kinsmen [621] /familiele den/ constituting a part of the same related group /ver wantengroep/ they organized themselves anew in Bontoramba and adjusted to the new circumstances, at the same time striving for the realization of the usual Makassarese ideals. To this end, they followed the old Makassarese adat.

The Bilateral Related Group,

612 621 The Makassarese related group /ver wantengroep/ should be described as a bilateral endogamous group of relatives (1)

1. Kin relationship is indicated by the term sibidja or sipamanakkang.

whose members worship their ancestors (pattautoaang) at the places and times designated, and at the same time as a group

612 /16 cont./ living together in the same territory (pa'rasangang),
621 whose members till the soil. Two pairs of opposing tendencies are observable here. In contrast to a striving toward endogamy, a much weaker striving to enter into marriage with non-kinsmen can be observed. In contrast to a striving to live together in the same territory, there exists an urge to disperse.

631 The Makassarese-Buginese section of the daërah /district/ of South Celebes is at present divided into provinces. Each /landsdrap/ consists of a number of territorial units, frequently called adat communities /adatgemeenschappen/. Each adat community in turn consists of a number of territorial units frequently called kampongs. The boundaries between provinces, between adat communities, and between kampongs are fixed on maps. This is a situation which anyone can immediately notice.

114 In addition it repeatedly appears in the literature that
the writers are conscious of the fact that kin relationship
602 plays a very important role among the Makassarese. The foreigner observes that a Makassarese not only lives with kinsmen in one house, but also that he has kinsmen scattered throughout the country./17/ But no statements can be found in the literature with regard to the precise nature of kin relationship and its relation to the clearly discernible territorial division, and there exist only vague notions among foreigners who have become thoroughly acquainted with South Celebes, as well as among the Makassarese themselves.

124 Therefore, in carrying out this investigation, it was not possible to isolate a certain group of relatives as an object of observation; the boundary lines were always vague. The only form of grouping which was clearly outlined and which could therefore better serve as a starting point was the territorial one (1).

114 /17 cont./ 1. It is therefore not surprising that in the summary chapter on social organization in his book *Beginselen en Stelsel van het Adatrecht* /Principles and System of Adat Law/ Ter Haar assigns "the village and district communities of South Celebes" to the "communities in which the genealogical factor...has no significance" (p. 15). Using the available literature, his conclusion could not be different. Here it will become apparent how incorrect this interpretation is.

124 Hence kin relationships of the residents of a kampong territory were recorded. For this purpose the names of all kampong residents were taken down from house to house, and at the same time kinship connections of the occupants were collected for each house. The kinship connections between the occupants of various houses were then traced. In so doing it appeared simplest to ask everyone whether he was related to the Kapala or his wife, and if so, in what degree. The fact 592 that, aside from a few exceptions, members of a household always turned out to be kinsmen facilitated the investigation because it was possible to indicate precisely which houses belonged to the Kapala's group of relatives and which did not.

124 612 Everyone was counted of the Kapala's group of relatives who believed himself to be related to him or his wife and of whom this was not denied. The latter happened once. It concerned a kampong functionary who had few kinsmen in Bontoramba but who had obtained influence through his personal qualities (his organizational ability, his eloquence) and

124 612 /17 cont./ who now wished to improve his position by being regarded as a distant kinsman of the Kapala. It was the daughter of the Kapala himself who made it clear to him that [608] his opinion could not possibly be correct. /18/ Furthermore, [609] the strangers, that is to say, the non-kinsmen married to a member of the Kapala group, whose children thus also belonged to this group, were likewise counted among the Kapala related group.

In the sole instance in which -- while the married couple 124 612 592 were not related to each other -- individual kinsmen of the man, as well as of the woman (who belonged to the Kapala group), lived in their house, the man's kinsmen were not included in the Kapala group; he himself was.

124 612 Aside from traceable relatives, a number of relatives by marriage were therefore also counted among the related group. The latter should accordingly be defined more accurately as a traditional bilateral endogamous group of relatives.

Among the Buginese, none of whom were related to the Kapala, a prominent man called Mangenre was used for the same purpose as the Kapala in the first group, so that with respect to the occupants of a number of houses, it can be said that they belong to Mangenre's group of relatives. With regard to the occupants of the remaining houses, the mutual kinship [128] relationship, insofar as it existed, could then be easily established. For the sake of convenience, the first group will be called the Kapala group, the second the Mangenre group, and the last the Rest group.

621 The result of this investigation showed that of a total of 129 houses, the Kapala group occupied 81, the Mangenre group 18, and that the Rest group lived in the remaining 30 houses. [612] The latter's members belonged to 13 different groups of relatives. The members of one group of the Rest group lived distributed over nine houses; those a second group over five houses, and those of a third over three houses. In three cases persons related to each other occupied two houses, and in the

621 /18 cont./ remaining seven houses lived persons who, aside from their housemates, had no other kin in Bontoramba.

[602] All these people, however, from the members of the Kapala group to those of the occupants of the seven last-named houses, have kinsmen living outside Bontoramba -- sometimes also outside Borongloë, and sometimes even partly outside Coa. These outside kinsmen sometimes live in small groups of just a few houses, and sometimes in larger numbers. Summarizing the genealogical picture of the kampong territory
612 621 /19/ of Bontoramba, it is possible to state that 15 (1) larger and smaller segments of groups of relatives live together there. All individuals at the same time possess elsewhere, that is to say, outside of Bontoramba, one or more other, larger or smaller, segments of their groups of relatives. Furthermore, it appears that the Kapala group is strongly integrated, the Mangerre group weakly integrated, and that the Rest group cannot be called integrated at all.

This result displays a divergence from the definition of the related group given above in two respects. In the definition, as we have seen, the emphasis was placed upon the existence of a certain unity on the part of a genealogical group and its territory. First of all, one encounters several genealogical

---

1. 1 group of 81 houses.
   1 group of 18 houses.
   1 group of 9 houses.
   1 group of 5 houses.
   1 group of 3 houses.
   3 groups of 2 houses.
   7 groups of 1 house. A total, therefore, of 15 different groups of relatives over a total of 129 houses. This count took place between June 25 and July 1, 1948.

612 19 cont. groups in one territory, and, secondly, it appears
621 that a genealogical group lives scattered over several territories.
Both deviations from the initially advanced principle demand
closer elaboration.

166 In the first place, certain historical factors which contributed
178 to the development of this situation should be pointed out.
These are increase in population, greater security since the
621 year 1905, and irrigation by which sawah cultivation became
possible in districts hitherto unsuited for this, with the result
that migration of small groups took place with much greater
frequency than was previously necessary or possible. To an
increasing degree, strangers requested permission to settle in
a certain kampong territory (2).

2. Such, at least, is the official decree; in practice permission is not asked until the house has already been built and the sawah has already been broken.

621 In the second place, the difference in meaning of the term
"kampong territory" at the present time and half a century
ago should be pointed out. At that time the boundary of a
territory coincided with the boundary of the power exercised
by the related group residing in that region. The boundary
changed in proportion to the power exercised by this group
segment. This applied in the first place to /20/ the boundaries
of the present-day kampongs. It also applied to a lesser degree
to the boundaries of the present-day adat communities and
provinces. After the arrival of the Dutch East Indies Government
621 in the region of the principalities in 1905, maps were made
648 in the course of the first few decades, and the boundaries
631 were indicated on them. The situation at that time was
essentially fixed. Within the established boundaries, displacements of power subsequently took place. Territorial and power
boundaries, therefore, no longer coincided at that time.

612 /20 cont./ A kampong head was appointed to rule over a
621 kampong territory. This head thereby also obtained authority
622 over the members of other groups of relatives which gradually
631 came to live in that territory. Formerly, it is probably true
to say, such a new group would have built up a small power
center of its own there and would have displaced the existing
one. Today such a group must actualize such a striving for
power within fixed territorial administrative boundaries. This
occurs frequently through a struggle for the headship of the
region concerned, whether it is a kampong, an adat community,
or a kingdom. The idea remained that a genealogical group
should be in command of the territory inhabited by this group,
and thus also of all those who lived in it. The striving for this
can be observed repeatedly.

612 This striving is always directed primarily against the other
621 group living in the territory which approaches the first-mentioned
most closely in standing, in this case, therefore, the Mangenre
group. But in view of the fact that this group is small and
little integrated, the members of the Kapala group do not feel
themselves threatened, and accordingly little is perceptible
of their striving.

The same picture that was here given with regard to Bontoramba can also be observed in the majority of the other kampongs. A sample made in 1940 in kampong Pakatta indicated that there two groups of relatives of almost equal size resided in the kampong territory with a few separate households (a very small Rest group, therefore).

The only related group in the adat community which
[634] occupied an entire kampong territory practically by itself was
that of the adat community head. Members of this group live
distributed over two to three kampong territories. As the
headman's group of relatives, however, they stand in contrast
to all other Borongloe groups of relatives in the adat community
[567] territory. A few households of slaves (1) and a few separate

---

1. See below pp. 149 ff.

[567]

612 /20 cont./ households are the only non-kinsmen who live in
621 their kampong territory. /21/ In each case, therefore, one encounters two more or less strongly integrated groups of relatives per territory, with, in addition, a nonintegrated Rest group regarded as small and insignificant.

612 Furthermore, it appeared that members of one and the same related group lived scattered all over South Celebes. In this respect, too, there is therefore no question of unity between a related group and its territory. The reason for this is evident. For this it is first necessary to show how a related group should be conceived.

The territorial division taken as a starting point in the investigation described above has the advantage of making a sharp demarcation possible, namely a division between houses inside and outside the kampong border. The related group as a genealogical unit lacks these sharply defined boundaries. An individual frequently belongs to more than one group of relatives, and people who are closely related to each other, first cousins, for instance, thus often belong not only to a common kin group, but also to mutually distinct ones. This is a direct consequence of the fact that marriages are regularly contracted between people who are not of the same kin group.

582 A child resulting from such a marriage may contract an
611 endogamous marriage either in his father's group of relatives
612 or in that of his mother, because through his father he belongs to the latter's related group, and through his mother to hers. And where father and mother in their turn were born to a man and wife who were not related to each other, the same child can contract an endogamous marriage in any one of the four different groups of relatives of the four grandparents. After all, he belongs to four different groups of relatives.

612 It is clear that a division of the Makassarese into sharply distinguished groups of relatives is fully imaginary.. Each individual belongs to more than one group of relatives and would therefore also have to be apportioned to more than one such

612 /21 cont./ group. An individual has the choice, in such a case, as to which group of relatives he wants to join, and where he wants to live and work. The genealogical /22/ tie with the other group(s) remains in existence. Knowledge of this tends to disappear after one or a few generations.

574 602 It should not be expected that one would know all one's kinsmen who live in regions remote from each other. By paying visits and extended stays, the younger generation becomes acquainted with kinsmen residing in various districts. The older ones observe them through this; their character is gauged and their marriage opportunities are discussed. It depends upon the impression made by them whether they will be more or less welcome guests at a later visit.

602 It depends upon an individual himself whether in later years he will keep up the ties established in this way. Thus, while one Makassarese, questioned about kinsmen living elsewhere, is able to refer to merely one or two districts where these are supposed to live, another one, conscious of the fact that the possession of many connections increases his social standing, declares that he has kinsmen everywhere and seems to be able to cite many names of kampongs.

Endogamy

582 612 The statement that the related group is endogamous means that a great number of marriages are by preference contracted with a kinsman, and a small number with members of other groups of relatives. The figures given below are taken from a Kapala related group, that is to say, from a segment of this group living, and therefore registered, in Bontoramba.

Of the 89 married couples belonging to the segment of the Kapala group residing in Bontoramba, man and wife are related to each other in 79 cases, and in 10 they are not (1).

1. I am following the system of degree of relationship according

582
612 /22 cont./ to which the parent-child relationship counts as one degree; brothers are therefore related in the second degree, and cousins /neven, French cousin/ in the fourth degree, and so on.

562 If one pursues the reasons why these 10 married outside
583 their related group, it appears that in 5 cases the marriage
occurred after the couple had carried out silariang (2). In
this case the individuals concerned do not pay any attention
557 to the existence of kin group ties. In the 5 other cases, the
582 reason always given was that the strangers belonged to groups
of relatives with which /23/ the older generation who brought
about the marriages gladly entered into marriage ties in view
of their social standing.

2. A marriage by flight. For details of this, see Chapter III, third part.

In 2 of these 5 cases, a female member of the related group married a stranger. In the other 3 cases, a man married a girl from outside. In the chapter on status we shall return to the marriage policy carried out by the older people. At present it is only necessary to point out that no special preference to marry either a boy or a girl outside the related group can be indicated, but rather that closer attention is paid with a girl than with a boy that she does not marry someone who is regarded to be even a trifle below her in standing.

The statement that the related group is endogamous
582 signifies, therefore, that marriages are by preference contracted between kinsmen, but it says nothing further concerning the kinship connections which are regarded as important in this

582 /23 cont./ case. Upon analysis of these connections, there appears a clear preference for marriages with members of the same generation, and among these the most important place is occupied respectively by those between *sampopinruang* (sixth-degree male and female cousins) and by those between *sampopintallung* (eighth-degree male and female cousins).

Expressed in figures, this means that of the 69 ordinary, or festive, marriages (1) contracted between members of the related group, in 60 cases the marriage partners were members of the same generation, and in 9 cases they were not. Of these 60 marriages, 8 were contracted between *samposikali* (children of brothers or/and sisters; thus male and female cousins in the fourth degree), 30 between *sampopinruang* (children of *samposikali*, thus sixth-degree male and female cousins), and 22 between *sampopintallung* (children of *sampopinruang*, thus eighth-degree male and female cousins). [601]

In the 9 marriages contracted between kinsmen of a different generation, the age difference of the spouses, with one exception, was no greater than that between members of the same generation. In the case of these marriages, a certain preference is to be noted for the marriage of a man to a woman of a lower /24/ generation over that of a man to a woman of a higher generation.

Marriages between children of brothers, between children of sisters, or between children of a brother and sister, are

---

1. The total number of 89 must be reduced not only by 10 non-endogamous but also by 10 *silariang* marriages. A marriage is brought about either in a festive way or by way of *silariang*. In this latter case there is no question of a reasoned-out choice.

582 /24 cont./ likewise contracted without any definite preference for one of these marriages being apparent.

Knowledge of kinship relationships does not go beyond the
582 eighth- and ninth-degree kinsmen. Relatives further removed
602 are "distant" (bella). If in rare cases people speak of a marriage between sampopingappa (tenth-degree male and female cousins; children of sampopintallung), one will probably hear the opinion expressed that this is an undesirable marriage. Others, however, do not seem to be aware of this.

Among the marriages contracted between sampopintallung (eighth-degree kinsmen), there probably also exist marriages of sampopingappa (tenth degree) or of kamanakang sampopintallung (ninth degree, thus, not members of the same generation). In such cases people are not certain any more about the exact relationships. Statements contradict each other, and in such cases of uncertainty there is a tendency to settle on that kin relationship which one regards as the proper and normal one for a marriage between kinsmen as the correct one.

The most common marriage is, therefore, the marriage between sampopinruang and sampopintallung (respectively, sixth- and eighth-degree male and female cousins) who at the same time are members of the same generation. Of all other marriages it is said that they are unfavorable or unlucky, or
[565] else that they are forbidden. In the nobiliary related group there is a tendency to shift to samposikali and sampopinruang (the fourth- and sixth-degree male and female cousins respectively).

The Family

593 Two functions of the family /gezin/ will be discussed here.

The father officially occupies a predominant place in the family. The relationship to his sons is based upon the notion that he is in command and that it is impolite to contradict him (1). /25/ A son is supposed to know what is fitting, by

listening to what his father says and by answering in general, well-chosen phrases when the father is addressed. In practice the answers which a son gives are brief because he is afraid of not being able to satisfy such obligations, and of making a mistake, which might be regarded as impolite or result in ridicule. A son above the age of fourteen accordingly does not like to be in the company of his father; the relationship is too stiff for this. When his father comes in, he disappears as quickly as possible while mumbling some excuse. When a
[574] father visits his married son, the latter will call his wife or his little son. The conversation then continues through them. Important matters, such as the marriage of his daughter, may be discussed by a father with his (married) son. This, too, is a conversation held in a formal tone. But this conversation merely establishes what has already been previously discussed by the father in informal conversations with his wife or his daughter-in-law.

The same relationship can be observed between brothers. Here the older one must be obeyed by the younger. Between them the opposition is greater; the older one tries to keep the leadership; the younger, especially if his personal qualities give him the opportunity to do so, tries to avoid his brother's authority. Their relationship is also stiff. The consequence is that unmarried sons in general, and unmarried younger brothers in particular, spend a great deal of time outside the house.

This does not apply to the relationship between mother and daughter, or to that between sisters. Since younger women are
[562] dependent on house and grounds and away from these can only go about in company, a similar solution would not be realistic in practice.

---

593 /25 cont./ 1. Talking back is referred to as *nipolongi erona*, "his wishes are crossed," or *anempa bawa karaĕng*, "to slap the mouth of the master."

593 /25 cont./ in practice. Younger women are dependent upon the older ones. The element of opposition is not to be found among them; on the contrary, what is prized is their mutual helpfulness and cooperation.

A sexual relationship between a woman and her son
593 practically does not occur. No examples of this were found in
835 the registers of the native courts. Only one of the informants
could recall such a case, which was supposed to have taken
[538] place before 1905. Stories in which this relationship plays a
part are unknown to me.

/26/ A sexual relationship between a man and his daughter occurs with more or less regularity. In the registers of the native courts of all South Celebes, one encounters an estimated four or more such cases annually. This implies that such an occurrence is a rarity in a particular adat community which is still remembered after decades. Stories concerning a father-
538 daughter relationship are found in the Islamic sphere. They
generally run about as follows. A well-known religious scholar who has come from Sumatra marries a Makassarese woman. While their child, a girl, is still very small, he moves on, and only 20 years later does he return to Macassar. There he marries a young woman, and after a time he notices by a certain sign on her head or by a certain ornament which he gave to his wife 20 years before that it is his own daughter whom he has married. Together they search for someone who will tell them what they should now do. It is God who tells them that they have committed the greatest sin possible, but that this can be forgiven them because they knew not what they did.

593 In the forms of social intercourse and conduct in daily life, a fear of violating the existing prohibition is here reflected that is not observable in the mother-son relationship. If a man comes home and his grown-up daughter is alone in the house, her little brother or niece is called in as a matter of course. Then both feel more at ease. The risk remains that otherwise people would talk about them. Accordingly, a man prefers not

Accordingly, a man prefers not

593 574 /26 cont./ to go alone with his grown-up daughter to a kampong where they are unknown, for instance, so that there they will not be regarded as a married couple and addressed as such.

593 835 The reason for this latter form of incest (salimara') occurring with more or less regularity and that of mother and son so rarely was explained by an informant who said that in general the lower generation must obey the higher one, a son his mother and a daughter her father. So it seems generally assumed that [833] initiative to a sexual relationship (in this case evil) originates with the man.

A sexual relationship between a man and his sister practically does not occur. I do not recall having encountered a single instance of this in the registers of the native courts.—/27/

538 The brother-sister relationship is one of the leitmotivs in the La Galigo epic. The relationship of Sawerigading to his twin sister Tenriabéng is one of great intimacy (1). In the heroic poem Datu Museng, the hero's wife I Maipa is likewise described as his twin sister. They were separated shortly after birth and did not meet again, ignorant of each other's past, until they were grown up. Datu Museng became enamored of her, and they married. So the poem is recited (2) by several

---

[113] 1. R. A. Kern, Catalogus van de Boegineesche tot den I Galigo cyclus behoorende handschriften der Leidsche Universiteitsbibliotheek, alsmede van die in andere Europeesche biblioteken /Catalog of the Buginese Manuscripts belonging to the I Galigo Cycle in the University of Leiden Library, as well as of Those in Other European Libraries, Leiden, 1939/, Leiden, 1939.

2. In the Makassaarsche Chrestomathie one finds another version. There it is

538 /27 cont./ related that I Maipa was the daughter of the Sultan of Sumbawa. As such, however, she was of nobler blood than Datu Museng, and their marriage was thus likewise a forbidden tie. Matthes, Makassaarsche Chrestomathie /Makassarese Chrestomathy/, 1883: "Aanteekeningen, " p. 88. [113]

singers (pakeso'keso') (3).

[533 534] 3. A singer who accompanies himself on a two-stringed violin (keso'keso').

593 In daily life the brother is, in the very first instance, the protector of his sister as a young girl. He is for her the "strong wall, " as the verse says (4). He likes to accompany

4. See Chapter III, p. 297.

her and the older women when they pay visits to kinsmen living elsewhere. He is the one who reacts first in case she is siri'; this is as much as to say that he immediately starts the pursuit and stabs if she should want to flee. He carries her as a bride out of the back rooms where she was dressed to the bridal bed in the front room. He is proud of her and of the fact that he may protect her. [585]

601 The /nuclear/ family is clearly reflected in the kinship terminology (see list). It is apparent that only the members of the /nuclear/ family are indicated by individual terms and that for the rest the terminology makes distinctions only between generations. The distinctions made in ego's own generation,

601 /27 cont./ finally, indicate the distance from the common grandparent, which appears to be of the greatest significance for marriage possibilities.

Kinship Terms

[609] Kin relationship is designated by the term sibidja /28/ or sipamanakkang. People who are not related to each other call each other tau maraëng (literally: "other people").

From the point of view of ego (man or woman), there is (are) named his:

1. father: mangge, bapa
2. mother: anrong, amma
3. brother: sari'battang (bura'ne)
4. sister: sari'battang (baine)
5. brothers and sisters of 1 and 2: purina
6. children of 5: samposikali
7. fathers and mothers of 1 and 2: toa
8. brothers and sisters of 7: toa
9. children of 8: purina
10. children of 9: sampopinruang
11. fathers and mothers of 7: boë
12. brothers and sisters of 11: boë
13. children of 12: toa
14. children of 13: purina
15. children of 14: sampopintallung
16. son: ana' (bura'ne)
17. daughter: ana' (baine)
18. children of 16 and 17: tjutju
19. children of 3 and 4: kamanakang
20. children of 19: tjutju
21. children of 6: kamanakang
22. children of 21: tjutju
23. children of 10: kamanakang
24. children of 23: tjutju
25. children of 15: kamanakang

/28 cont./ 26. children of 25: *tjutju*

27. children of 18-20-22-24-26: *tjutju kulantu'*

To indicate a man, *bura'ne* is placed after the terms named, to indicate a woman, *baine*.

28. Persons who are married to two brothers (or to two sisters) call each other *lago*.

29. One calls one's sister's (brother's) spouse *ipara'*.

30. In case a man and a woman not related to each other marry, a cousin of the man nonetheless regards himself as related /29/ (for instance) as a cousin to the woman. They then are *bidja pasibesokang*, literally, "drawn relatives" of each other. Except in the terms for father and mother, the difference in sex is not directly indicated. For when someone speaks of his *purina*, for instance, it is immediately clear whether he is talking about his uncle or his aunt by the manner and moment in which he does so.

Great stress is placed upon the difference between generations. With the exception of one's own parents, all those who belong to one generation above ego are called *purina*. Only if more specific designation should be necessary in a certain case is *purina samposikali* or *purina sampopinruang* used.

In the generation of ego's grandparents, the difference between his own grandparents and their contemporaries, their brothers, sisters, male and female cousins, and so forth, also has disappeared. All are designated by *toa*. This applies equally to the generation of the great-grandparents.

Exactly the same thing can be observed with respect to the lower generations: in the generation below ego, his own children are called *ana'*, the rest *kamanakang*. In the generation of ego's grandchildren, all are called *tjutju* without exception.

As regards ego's own generation, it is a striking phenomenon that the differences in terminology are connected with the difference in distance that separates them from the common pair of ancestors. Thus, ego's own contemporaries are *samposikali* to each other; their children are *sampopinruang* to each other.

592 /29 cont./ The Household; Composition

A household is formed by people who live together in one house. The investigation in 1948, which covered 129 houses and which attempted to obtain an insight into the composition of the household, produced the following results.

1. With one single exception members of a household were always kinsmen. 2. In the majority of cases a house was inhabited by from one to two families, and in the latter case this was almost always a parental couple with a married child living with them. 3. In most cases where other kinsmen lived in the same house as this family (or these families), they were very close kinsmen (first, second, or third degree). 4. Among such additional members of the household who are not members of the family, a /30/ certain preference was to be observed for living with a female relative. Finally, it was noted that one avoids bringing together potential spouses in one house.

Since here the occupants of the registered houses were subject of this investigation, the data did not have to be confined to houses occupied by members of the Kapala group.

162 The 129 houses of kampong Bontoramba comprised 787 persons: 382 men and 405 women on July 1, 1948. This is therefore an average of 6.1 persons per house.

572 In 127 of the 129 houses, there lived only people who were related to each other. The two exceptions merely prove the rule. The first concerns a friend of one of the sons of the house who had been lodging for a few months with the last named. The second concerns a childless married couple who had settled in Bontoramba after a marriage by flight and who had temporarily been taken into the house by another married couple coming from the same district as they and living under similar circumstances. Three weeks after the date of registration, this couple appeared to have moved elsewhere. The reason given for this was a quarrel that had arisen because this married couple was very lazy and gave practically no help in keeping house.

592 /30 cont./ The distribution of the married couples over the various houses was as follows:

in 1 house there lived three married couples;

in 24 houses there lived two married couples;

in 81 houses there lived one married couple;

in 23 houses there lived no married couple, but, for instance, a widower with his children, or an old unmarried woman with a few orphaned nephews and nieces.

Of the 24 houses with two married couples, 23 were occupied by married couples related to each other; the 24th was the case just reported, which turned out to be very temporary. In 22 of the 23 cases, the kin relationship was [591] that of an older and married child; in the 23rd a brother and sister lived with their respective spouses.

The three married couples who lived together in one house consisted of one parental couple with two married children.

Of the 23 two-family houses in which only kinsmen lived, 15 were occupied by these two families alone (that is to say, parents plus children, including one married child with /male or female/ spouse and /31/ child/ren/.) In the remaining 8 cases, one or more kinsmen of one of the two spouses lived with these two families.

In the 81 houses with one married couple, it appeared that in 52 cases this married couple occupied the house as a closed family unit (thus, only parents plus children); in the remaining 29 cases, one or more kinsmen of man or wife lived with them (1).

In the three-family house one kinsman of the man lived there in addition to the three families.

---

1. An exception has already been reported on p. 23.

592 /31 cont./ Excluding the 23 houses without a complete family and the two-family house in which the two families were not related to each other, there remain 105 houses. Therefore, in 52 + 15 = 67 of these one or two families reside without other kinsmen. In the rest, namely 38 houses, one or more kinsmen lived with the families.

A tendency for a family to live in a house without other people can be observed.

592
602 Examining these kinsmen more closely, it becomes apparent that close relatives are the most numerous, and that only a few distant ones were taken into the house. Of these latter, it was always stated that they no longer had any brothers or sisters, and that therefore they had now been taken in here. After all, where there are no close relatives, distant relatives take their turn, and since there are often more of these, personal preference plays a role in the choice of the house where one settles.

In addition to the respective families, 61 additional persons lived in the 38 houses (2). The kin connections which will be recorded are traced from the oldest married couple residing in the house, a so-called basal married couple, regardless of whether the members of the household are related to the man or to his wife. These 61 persons then appear to be 7 mothers and 4 fathers, widows and widowers respectively; 14 unmarried sisters and 6 unmarried brothers; 9 grandchildren, whose father or mother was deceased or divorced; 8 aunts (paternal sisters) and 3 uncles (paternal brothers) of the basal married couple; 1 brother's son; 5 male or female first cousins (samposikali); and finally, 3 distant cousins (kamanakang samposikali) and 1 distant uncle (purina sampopinruang).

2. The single member of the household who was not a kinsmen (mentioned above) was not included.

592 602 /31 cont./ By way of summary it can be stated that 40 of these 61 /32/ are first- or second-degree relatives of the basal married couple, and that 52 of the 61 are first-, second-, or third-degree relatives.

The conclusion therefore is that in the majority of cases a house is occupied by one family, that in general only unmarried, older and younger, kinsmen are taken into the house, and that more distant kinsmen (fourth degree and further removed) are only taken in if they have no close relatives. Uncles and aunts, accordingly, are only taken into the house by their respective nephews and nieces if they themselves are childless.

It is noteworthy that one of the three just-mentioned "distant cousins" set up a little house for himself shortly after the registration date. "He finds that more pleasant, " was given as explanation.

If one excludes the group of 9 grandchildren, it seems reasonable, in the case of the 52 remaining persons to ascertain whether they are kinsmen of the man or of his wife. It appears that in 19 of the 52 cases someone lives in the house on the basis of his kin connection to the man, and in 33 cases on the basis of his kinship to the wife. Unless these figures [591] are too small to draw conclusions, a slight preference for living with relatives on the mother's side would seem to be indicated. A similar result was produced by the investigation into marriage residence. At this point, a report on this subject seems in order.

Marriage Residence

462 562 In accordance with the division of labor between the sexes in Makassarese society, the task of providing for the children, preparing the food, the weaving of sarongs and keeping them clean, and all matters which can be done in and around the house fall to the women. House and grounds constitute the woman's domain. Separation of the sexes is very marked.

591 /32 cont./ The tie among women who are relatives and live
602 in houses close to each other is very strong. In this situation, the result of the study of marriage residence fits very well. A tendency toward matrilocal marriage is observable.

In several cases it was observed that a married couple with children, plus, for instance, the father or an unmarried sister of the wife, lived together in one house. In such cases one is readily inclined to assume that one is dealing with a matrilocal marriage, /33/ as for instance where the wife's mother has died and the rest of the family has continued to live together with the man who has married into the family. In many cases, however, this is difficult to trace. The only pure, and at the same time workable, criterion for indicating when one is dealing with a matrilocal marriage and when with a patrilocal one is given in those cases where two or more married couples live together in one house, that is to say, where one parental couple lives with one married child. The number then becomes smaller; however, one is on firm ground. Twenty-two such cases were registered. The house with three married couples appeared to be inhabited by a parental couple with two married children. Altogether, therefore, 24 married children lived with their parents.

In contrast to 16 matrilocal marriages, there are 8 patrilocal ones. The figures illustrate no more than a tendency, albeit a clearly understandable tendency toward matrilocal marriage. This tendency becomes even more comprehensible if we also look at other factors.

The reasons given for a patrilocal marriage always concern expediency. As such the fact is mentioned that the man is the only child and that therefore he must provide for his parents; or that in so doing the man will stay closer to his sawahs. Or else it is said that there is more room in the house. If, on the other hand, one asks why the couple went to live with the parents of the wife, the reasons are more vague. It is regarded as a matter of course for which no special reason needs to exist that a man moves in with his wife.

591 /33 cont./ A matrilocal marriage is not a mandatory prescription. The houses of the parental couples are close to each other; kinship to father and mother are equally valued. On the basis of these facts, the observed tendency to matrilocal marriage remains unexplained. In my opinion,
[182 the reason is to be found in the relationships obtaining among
593] the members of the family, and especially in the formal, stiff relationship between father and son, which makes it difficult for the latter to conduct himself in an unforced manner in the company of the former (1).

1. See pp. 31, 32.

The beginning of a marriage is frequently difficult (2).

2. See Chapter III, second part.

The parents who /34/ have brought it about and feel responsible for the smooth course of events do everything in their power to make it seem attractive for the young man to move in with his wife. That is not the case if he lives in his father's house. To this is added the fact that the young wife feels most comfortable in her familiar environment, with her mother and little sisters. If she should live elsewhere, it is much more difficult for her to go back to her mother, however small the distance between the houses may be.

182 The strict separation between the sexes, which results
562 in the young women being strongly tied to house and grounds,
591 thus furthers the occurrence of matrilocal marriages as does
593 the stiff relationship between father and son.

Sexual Relationships between Members of a Household

835 Sexual relationships between members of a household who do not belong to the same /nuclear/ family occur more

835 /34 cont./ frequently than those between members of the same family. Such relationships are sometimes also regarded as incest (salimara'). Irrespective of kinship relationship /sic/ these /sexual/ relationships are always considered especially reprehensible.

[583 588] In a case where a man fled with his wife's niece (kamanakang), this was the reason that the reconciliation, otherwise customary after a flight, could not be brought about (1).

1. Compare Chapter III, third part. See pp. ff.

582 835 A marriage between children of the first marriage of a widower and a widow who later married so that their children came to belong to one household was forbidden in rural areas. In Macassar such a marriage was contracted. The person performing the marriage ceremony took the point of view that no objections were to be found against such a marriage under Moslem law.

835 Relations of a man with his brother's daughter or sister's daughter, or with his father's sister or mother's sister, is regarded as salimara'. The native courts punish these cases [684] with banishment for the same number of years as was cited above with respect to relations between a father and daughter. The first mentioned, that between a man with a woman of a lower generation, occurs much more frequently than the last named, that with a woman of a higher generation. The reason for this difference in frequency is said to be /35/ that a young girl has greater difficulty in resisting her uncle than a woman with regard to her nephew. From this it may again be concluded that the common opinion is that the evil initiative toward sexual contact proceeds from the man. [538] Myths or other stories concerning such relationships are unknown to me. According to rumors, such relationships did

835 /35 cont./ occur at the courts of princes without being further discussed in public, even though they led to pregnancy.

684 In the same manner the court of justice handled a case of a man's relations with his stepdaughter, and that of a man
835 with his stepgranddaughter. The court of justice declared
593 that although no blood relationship existed between the accused,
608 these two young women were nevertheless regarded as daughter and granddaughter respectively, because they had lived with their stepfather and stepgrandfather from childhood on and had been reared by them. Here there exists a certain doubt, therefore, whether the case can be regarded as salimara'.[1]
608 Cases of sexual relation between a woman and her stepson
835 were not registered. This does not mean that these do not occur. At the most it may mean that these cases occur less frequently than those in which the man belongs to the higher generation (1).

587
593 1. The idea exists that when a widower remarries, his second wife treats her stepchildren with less kindness than her own. No heart-rending examples of this could be noted, however. In
[754] one case the hostile attitude originated with the two girls who suspected their stepmother of having killed their own mother by means of a formula (pangassengang), in order to be able to marry their father.

The relationship of a man
[578] with his stepson is a tense one. Quarrels occur that lead to physical violence and fights such as are unknown between a man and his own son.

[1] [i.e. incest. - Analyst]

587 /35 cont./ In several cases a man married the younger
835 sister of his deceased wife. One likes to see sisters "succeeding each other on the pillow" because it is believed that the children from the first marriage will be better taken care of by someone who already knows them well than by a stranger, and also because by such a marriage existing ties in the family are continued. At the same time, several cases were
[837] registered in which a man made his wife's sister pregnant.

Such a relationship generally is not regarded as salimara'. /36/ It does, however, cause a great deal of commotion because, according to the decrees of Moslem law, a man may not be married to two sisters at one and the same time. In such a case the man must first oust his wife, therefore, and only after the iddat period has elapsed, may he marry her sister. During the entire period, he, like the pregnant woman, is tumannjala (1) with respect to her brothers and other male relatives.

[578] It is said that this man has made two women unhappy at
once. Reconciliation takes place less readily, and the commotion is greater than in the case of an "ordinary"
[684] marriage by flight. In a verdict handed down by the Sawitto Native Court, a couple was sentenced for salimara' in such a case. In his opinion on this verdict, Dr. A. A. Cense called this interpretation incorrect. He thought that only after the decrees of Moslem law became known did the notion arise that this relationship should also be regarded as salimara'. I cannot declare myself in entire agreement with him on this point. The interpretation does show, however, that, just as in the cases of sexual contact between a man and his stepdaughter, here, too, a doubt exists as to whether or not this

---

1. See Chapter III, third part.

587 /36 cont./ relationship is to be conceived as salimara'.
835 Defining it as salimara' means that such relationship is considered in connection with the bad consequences for the country. It signifies that such a relationship is found "very bad."

Household Tasks

462 [592] Rice pounding, weaving, and cooking are female occupations par excellence. However they are not entirely household affairs.

252 592 For the 129 houses, 75 blocks for pounding rice were counted (2). On the average, therefore, more than one rice-pounding block exists for every two houses. The blocks lie near the houses. A house apart has its own block, but where the houses are close together, as is usual where the inhabitants are close relatives of each other, there one block may be used jointly by as many as three houses. Common use of one and the same block is a matter of course where the /37/ users are kinsmen. It attains the nature of a favor if this is not the case.

[556] 2. The Kapala group is relatively the richest: for 81 houses it numbered 53 blocks. The Mangenre group numbered 7 for 18 houses, and the Rest group 15 for 30 houses.

286 592 It is safe to assume that around 20 years ago, at a time when sarongs were still woven at home in greater numbers than is the case today, the number of looms was also greater. Then each house probably possessed one loom apiece. At that time it would, therefore, have been possible to contend that sarong weaving was a family affair. In 1948, 101 looms were counted for 129 houses (1), a number of women no longer have

286 592 /37 cont./ 1. Here again the Kapaia group appeared to be comparatively the best provided. In its 81 houses, 73 looms were found; in the 18 houses of the Mangenre group, 11; and in the 30 houses of the Rest group, 17. In a few houses I observed two looms.

looms in their own houses and are therefore dependent upon kinsmen for use of one. Wherever the household is incapable of fulfilling a certain task, the latter is taken over by the related group. It is safe to assume that the lack of yarn during more than five consecutive years, in any case until 1948, the year of this registration, was the reason that no new looms were acquired, while disuse caused many of them to deteriorate. The remaining 101 will therefore probably be used up after a few years.

602 476 One can observe regularly that female relatives "get" from each other a household article or a few ingredients for a meal. In such a case one does not speak of borrowing, and it is not regarded as such, for these are all everyday matters. Without these items one is helpless, and therefore they use them among each other. Soap, rice (beras), and a saucepan are apparently equally common articles, but these definitely do not go from hand to hand every day. What is stated here applies to female relatives; among them this [609] mutual assistance is a matter of course. But they have a different attitude toward a non-relative. Should she come to get something several times in a row, there are many ways of making clear to her that this is little appreciated.

462 The men have the task of bringing home from pasar, garden, or sawah whatever is necessary for daily existence. They cultivate the sawah and garden. They provide the women with

462 /37 cont./ rice, maize, fish, petroleum, and soap; a little extra is regarded as special attention and appreciated as such. They handle the tools in repairs of the house or in the
462 manufacture or /38/ repairing of objects in daily use. The household always constitutes the center of these activities.
592 Male members of the household work together at these jobs.
[476] Neighbors as well as kinsmen give a hand if the forces of a single house are insufficient for a certain job.

241 By no means does every house have its own plow.
592 Fifty-nine plows were counted (1) for the 129 houses. A plow

[556] 1. Here again the Kapala group was the best provided: 44 plows for 81 houses. The Mangenre group possessed 6 plows for 18 houses, and the Rest group 9 plows for 30 houses. The close connection of these figures to the distribution of the sawah lands among these three groups will be discussed below.

[602] is placed at the disposal of kinsmen as a matter of course (2)

2. This is easily possible in this district because the sawahs are situated at various heights and therefore must also be plowed at different times in connection with the water level.

[609
427]

although strangers have to rent one at expensive rates.

476 Kinsmen who are at the same time neighbors help each
602 other in overcoming the small difficulties of daily life.

476
602 /38 cont./ Their sense of belonging together is strengthened
by this. A household that is apart from the others can request
476 help from a neighbor unrelated to it, in case of an emergency,
558 but the asker suffers a loss of prestige in doing so. Whoever
609 asks for help from a non-kinsman shows himself to be inferior.
592 A household which exists apart thus very easily becomes lower
361 in its standing; it has a difficult and less pleasant existence
than a household which forms part of a large related group
living close together.

592 Differences are thus observable between a household which
612 lives isolated or almost isolated and a household that lives in
621 the midst of its kinsmen. Put in another way, there are
differences between a small and a large group of relatives,
where the household or a single family, as the case may be,
appears as the smallest imaginable group of relatives in a
certain territory. It seems unnecessary to look for a boundary
line between a large and a small related group. We shall
here proceed from the assumption that the Rest group consists
of smaller groups of relatives (in this case a maximum of 9
houses), and that the Kapala group (81 houses) constitutes a
large group of relatives. Three points of difference are then
the following:

162 In the 81 houses of the Kapala group live an average of
592 6.5 persons per house; in the 30 houses of the Rest group an
average of 5.5 persons per house. This difference becomes
understandable if /39/ one notes that in comparison with 7
houses having 2 or 3 occupants in the Kapala group (thus
around 9 per cent), there are also 7 such houses among the 30
592 houses of the Rest group (thus 25 per cent). This is because
in the 7 houses couples married by silariang (1) live, in many

---

1. See Chapter III, third part.

592 /39 cont./ cases without children, or only a few as yet. Furthermore, such houses are occupied by a widow whose husband died before the reconciliation necessary after a marriage by flight and by a number of other such cases.
592 There exists a clear preference for kinsmen living together
602 in one house, and an aversion to non-kinsmen living together.
609 In the latter case there soon develops a relationship of followers (2), and that is disliked by those who realize that they will

2. See pp. 52 ff.

be in a lower place. Lonely parents who in a large related group would have been taken into the house of a nephew or niece now continue to live by themselves. They, together with the couples who fled and married, reduce the mean population per house.

The number of endogamous marriages appears to be higher
582 in the Kapala group than in the Rest group. In the Kapala
602 group, 79 endogamous marriages were registered (around 89 per cent) as against 10 marriages with strangers (around 11 per cent). In the Rest group these figures were: 15 endogamous marriages (around 45 per cent) as against 13 marriages with strangers (around 46 per cent).

612 It was noted that the Kapala group was better provided with rice blocks, weaving looms, and plows. The first and
556 last-mentioned objects are directly connected with the sawah area. The average sawah property of the Kapala group members is greater than that of the Rest group members (3).

3. See p. 52.

These figures, however, for the moment prove no more than that the members of the Kapala group have more goods than those of the Rest group.

Compared with the Rest group, therefore, we see the Kapala group as the more cohesive and wealthier one, in which

612 556 /39 cont./ living is more comfortable. The tendency toward joining the Kapala group can be demonstrated. Integration is stronger there.

612 To be affiliated with a large related group seems to offer only advantages. There is, however, another phenomenon which suggests the opposite. /40/ Members of the Kapala [166] group appear to move away repeatedly. This fact cannot be discussed, however, until the relationship of the related group to the land has first been described.

The Relationship to the Land

612 423 The relationship of the related group to the land was characterized as that of a group whose members live together in the same territory and work the land. This characterization will now be elaborated upon. The majority of kampong residents do seem to have land in the kampong where they reside, but a number of them in addition have land in other kampongs.

Some figures will be presented at this point to illustrate the relationship of people to land. The average landownership of Bontoramba residents within their territory amounts to 23 ares of sawah land and 56 ares of dry land per house. In addition to land in Bontoramba, some Bontoramba residents also own land in other kampongs. If one adds these figures to the first, then it appears that the average landownership per house in Bontoramba amounts to 54 ares of sawah land and 69 ares [162] of dry land. The average number of persons per house is 6.04 (1).

1. Figures concerning land date from 1949. The average number of residents per house that year amounted to 6.04 as against 6.1 in 1948.

423 /40 cont./ Some variations should be introduced into
612 these figures. Broken down by the Kapala, Mangenre, and
556 Rest groups they are:

Kapala group:	77 ares sawah land
	88 ares dry land
Mangenre group:	6 ares sawah land
	66 ares dry land
Rest group:	23 ares sawah land
	22 ares dry land

These figures thus indicate the average per house for these three groups, which consist of 81, 19, and 33 houses respectively (2).

[171] 2. In the Indish Verslag /(Dutch East) Indies Report/ of 1941, Part 2, p. 264, the average area of arable land of the native population for Java and Madura (in 1940) is given as: 0.072 hectare of sawah land and 0.096 hectare of dry land per capita. This is a little less than was found in Bontoramba (0.088 hectare of sawah land and 0.113 hectare of dry land per capita).

/41/ The noticeably low figure for the sawah land in the Mangenre group is not directly explainable. We shall return to this point below.

[592] Not all houses have landowners. In the Kapala group, landowners live in 73 of the 81 houses; in the Mangenre group, in 7 of the 19 houses; and in the Rest group they live in 14 of the 33 houses.

The members of the Kapala group are thus clearly rich in land compared with those of the two other groups. Among

423 556 612 /41 cont./ them landownership is also more regularly distributed over the various houses.

It appeared that the few houses of the Kapala group without landowners were homes of younger people who worked the lands of their parents or an older brother and who received a part of the harvested crop in exchange for this. The Mangenre group and the Rest group include *warong* owners /shop-keepers/, the bicycle repairman, merchants, and "porters." The last named are men who transport goods for [482 465] another person to a distant *pasar* and who receive their wages partly in money and partly in goods. Several of them do not own any land.

Those who own land outside Bontoramba live scattered over 57 of the total of 133 houses (1); 53 of these 57 are occupied by members of the Kapala group, 4 by those of the Rest. According to these figures people of the Mangenre group do not seem to have land anywhere outside Bontoramba. It may well be that these figures are incorrect, probably too low, especially as regards the Mangenre group. The land-tax administration registered the names of landowners in each kampong, and it would thus be necessary to go through all the land-tax registers of South Celebes (there are a few thousand of them) in order to state with certainty that no other land than that reported are held by Bontoramba residents. And it is just among the individuals of the Mangenre group that one might expect to find that they have more land in their homeland of Pangkadjene (2).

1. In 54 houses there are people who own only sawah land elsewhere, in 14 those who own only dry land elsewhere. In 11 houses, therefore, there are people who own both sawahs as well as dry land.

423
556
612
/41 cont./ 2. This suggestion is based both upon the figures following below for kampong Pakatto, the homeland of the Kapala group, as well as upon the impression obtained in the colonists' kampongs.

423
471
/42/ I limited my investigation to the registers of the remaining kampongs of the adat community of Borongloë. In only 7 of these 13 were names of Bontoramba residents encountered by me. The distribution was as follows:

	Sawah Land	Dry Land	Number of Sawah-land Owners	Number of Dry-land Owners
Pagentungang.	1,432 ares	--	48	--
Songkolo . . .	280 ares	354 ares	4	5
Buttadidi . . .	684 ares	37 ares	23	3
Borong	308 ares	904 ares	6	8
Tjambaja. . .	1,428 ares	798 ares	21	5
Pakatto	514 ares		4	
Parang Banua .	54 ares		2	(1)

1. In Indonesian landholding statistics land held in mortgage or as security was always included.

A glance at the map shows that the first three kampongs border on Bontoramba, and that the fourth is situated very close to it. Kampong Pakatto was already mentioned as the one from which many of the present-day Bontoramba residents are derived;

423
471
/42 cont./ some of them still appear to have land there, obtained through inheritance. The great number of landholdings in Tjambaja is connected with good reclamation opportunities there.

The people from Bontoramba own no land in 6 of the 14 kampongs of Borongloë. Their ownership is concentrated in their immediate vicinity, with the exception of Pakatto and Tjambaja. Territorial-administrative kampong boundaries, [612] therefore, do not seem to affect the relationship of kin groups to land. The distance from the house to the land does seem to be of importance. There is reason to assume that the number of Bontoramba residents owning land outside their adat community as well as inside it (with the exception of people from the Mangenre group) is inconsiderable.

In addition to the Bontoramba residents who have land outside Bontoramba, there are a number of persons residing outside Bontoramba who own /43/ land within the territory of Bontoramba. There were 90 such people. Of these, 68 lived in one of the 13 other kampongs of Borongloë. They owned, together, 1, 522 ares of sawah land and 1, 758 ares of dry land. In the adjoining kampongs of Buttadidi, Pagentungang, Songkolo, and Borong, there lived respectively 27, 8, 11, and 7 of these landowners. In addition, there are 3 more landowners who live in the kampongs of Pakatto, Parang Banua, Bontoa, and Borongkaluku, while in Kotjikang there are 2, and in Tjambaja 1. There does not appear to exist any special interest in Bontoramba territory on the part of Pakatto or Tjambaja residents; this was different the other way around.

The remaining 22 landowners, of whom 2 lived outside Goa and 20 within Goa but outside Borongloë, owned 645 ares of sawah land and 498 ares of dry land (1). Here it is only

(1) Among these 22, there were 13 sawah owners and 10 dry-land owners. One man owned dry land in Bontoramba as well as a sawah.

423 471 /43 cont./ noteworthy that of these 20 landowners, 12 lived in kampong Romangpolong situated very close to Bontoramba, where the Kapala of Bontoramba has a large number of kinsmen.

471 The following figures indicate how the sawah land is distributed over the various houses.

556 612 The inhabitants of 25 out of the total of 133 houses own more than 1 hectare of sawah land. Twenty-one of these are houses belonging to the Kapala group, and 4 belong to the Rest. The inhabitants of 8 of these 25 houses own more than 2 hectares, and of these, 7 belong to the Kapala group, 1 to the Rest. Only one man has more than 3 hectares; in fact, he owns 7.5 hectares of sawah land. He owes this to his own abilities.

The relationship of individuals to their land, as is apparent from these figures, may therefore be stated quite simply. The administrative kampong boundaries (2) do not appear to be relevant to the location of land which belongs to kampong residents. Landownership is not restricted by kampong territory.

311 423 The distance from the living quarters to the fields is, generally speaking, small. The land of the majority of people is located in their own kampong and in one of the kampongs adjoining it. Those who owned land in Tjambaja also had land in Bontoramba itself. This shows that people do not purchase or work /44/ land at a greater distance away until they already own some in their immediate vicinity. The exchange of land

437 425 between people having land in each other's kampong of residence, with the intention that both will have a piece of land close by, instead of one far removed from their house, occurs regularly.

---

[622] 2. The kapala collects the taxes on all land located in his kampong territory. He takes care that all men who live there and are able to perform work carry out their services. He reports offences committed in his district, etc.

428 /44 cont./ Generally one acquires distant land through
471 inheritance. People like to keep (1) land located in the kampong
602

1. Compare the data for the colonist groups, pp. 76 ff.

from which they come themselves, or from which their parents come and where kinsmen live. The figures from Pakatto merely indicated that the tie to land situated in the kampong of origin is only gradually loosened when a well-integrated group of relatives has arisen in a new environment.

471 The average landholding amounts to a good one-half hectare of sawah land and almost three-quarters of a hectare of dry land, for each six persons. For the greater part, there-
[241] fore, they are all small farming enterprises (2).

231
556
612

2. The figures for the most important livestock (buffaloes, goats, horses) among the three groups is as follows:

	Buffaloes	Goats	Horses
Kapala group	193	23	11
Mangenre group.	19	—	--
Rest group.	26	14	1

556 Among the kampong residents it seems that only one
471 individual is in a position to bring together a land area of more
558 than 3 hectares, thanks to special personal qualities. In the generation following his, however, this holding falls apart again, because it rarely happens that a man who brought together the property produces a son capable of keeping it intact.

471 This proportion of landholdings to individuals may be re-
556 garded as normal in the case of these ordinary kin groups. Otherwise, the area is not unacquainted with large landownership.

471 /44 cont./ In kampong Borongpalala, for instance, the total
556 sawah area amounts to approximately 450 hectares. The area of dry land is very insignificant here. Of these 450 hectares, around 160 hectares are in the hands of residents of Borongpalala, and around 290 are in the hands of people who live outside Borongpalala. Approximately 3 hectares of the latter amount belong to a number of small farmers of the Bontoramba type. The rest, almost 290 hectares therefore, belongs to a few kinsmen of the Prince /45/ of Goa, who in part live in kampong Karuisi 15 kilometers away from Borongpalala, and in part in Bone, 250 to 300 kilometers away. This kampong is clearly acquainted with large landownership. Deputies (koasa) of the large landowners direct operations there and collect the proceeds. These conditions will be discussed in the following chapter.

The Harvest Ritual

241 The tie between kampong residents and their land finds
346 expression at the harvest festival, which is held at a certain
778 place in the kampong territory, "the Lord of the Land" (Patanna pa'rasanganga) so-called. At this spot stands an old mango tree, and at its foot lie a few large, flat stones. Next to it a "little house" (saukang) has been built. It rests on four posts; the floor, 1.5 square meters, is about 1.0 meter above the ground; the walls are composed of completely transparent braiding; atop leaves serve as roof covering. In the center a fifth post extends about 20 centimeters through the floor, and this is called the "lopped-off house post" (benteng polong). Tree, stones, and the little house together form an important element of the sawah ritual. Usually, both before the planting as well as after the harvest, but also on other occasions of the rice growing, offerings are presented there, coupled with simple and essentially household festivities. Only the harvest festival will be described here.

241 /45 cont./ When all the sawahs have been completely harvested, the day for the ritual is set. This is the job of the
[793] pinati (1) of Bontoramba, who is also the person who carries out the actual ritual on that day. Around ten o'clock in the morning, those who wanted to take part in this harvest ritual
[821] had already begun to gather at "the Lord of the Land." The ritual must take place before the sun begins to descend again, because, so it is believed, the rising of the sun benefits the growth of the rice. The women brought bowls of offerings
241 with them. Every house is expected to bring an offering, it is
782 said, and one proceeds from the assumption that everyone is interested in the harvest. When the ritual began, I counted only 45 offering bowls from 42 different houses. Thirty-four of these 42 /46/ houses belonged to the Kapala group, 1 was occupied by members of the Mangenre group, and 5 belonged to the Rest group. Two bowls were from people outside Bontoramba who owned land in this region.

The second offering bowl from one and the same house, in two out of three cases, was designated for the second family living in that house.

In the three out of five cases in which the Rest group brought
471 an offering bowl, it appeared that no one from the house con-
241 cerned had been recorded in the land-tax register. One of these
782 concerned a follower who brought the offering for the sawahs of his master, who lived elsewhere; the second concerned one who worked sawahs belonging to a kinsman residing in Buttadidi; the third case is that of one of the kampong functionaries who

1. Pinati is the title of the functionary who is usually charged with the execution of the ritual. Compare B.F. Matthes, Wb., p. 111.

471 /46 cont./ had just come to live in Bontoramba but who, as
241 yet, possessed no land there. This man nonethless believed
782 that his office compelled him to give tangible proof of his
participation in the life of the kampong at this communal
festival.

The total number of 45 bowls was regarded as small; the fact that many people were sick was given as an excuse for this.

The conclusion to be drawn from these figures may be, therefore, that at this harvest festival only those people bring an offering who own or work sawahs in Bontoramba and who at the same time believe that they have a certain interest inthis harvest festival.

241 Compared with the other groups, the tendency to participate
612 in this communal festival is more apparent among the members
of the Kapala group.

The nonparticipation of 17 of the 18 houses of the Mangenre
group may be laid not only to the fact that only a few of them
own sawahs in Bontoramba, but also to the fact that in
Buginese country saukang festivals occur much less frequently
than in Goa. Traditionally, this kind of festival is more
[626] unfamiliar to them. The participation of one of them may be
regarded as a sign of submission to the local holders of power
and their customs. For if nobody among them had participated,
this would not have been appreciated by the Kapala and his
relatives. In this case one of them stands for all. It was one
of the most prominent members of the Mangenre group who
sent a bowl.

539 In answer to the question how this place obtained its name,
773 "Lord of the Land," the following story was told. /47/

1.	Pau-pauanna "Patanna Pa'rasanganga," niarenga Besenga.	The story of "the Lord of the Land," called Besenga.
2.	Riolo nia' sitau rewa ammantang ri Bontoramba.	Once upon a time there was a courageous man who lived in Bontoramba.

/47 cont./

539 773	3.	Naandjo taua ammantangi ri birinna agang lompoa.	This man lived along the large road.
	4.	Naandjo aganga, punna nia' tau ammalo na'bongong iareka nammake pajung, andjo taua balalo mate karampasang.	Now, whenever there were people who came along the way with their sarong over their head or with a pajong /parasol/, these people soon died (1).

[554 576 689]

1. A lower person who appears before a higher one with a sarong over his head or with a pajong, or who simply walks past his house, in so doing shows little respect for him. He can always expect punishment.

5.	Nasiapa are sallona andjo taua appakamma naniareng tommo tau tabesse-besse panggaukanna;	And thereupon this man who had that on his conscience was called an evil man in place of a courageous one.
6.	Sanggenna andjo taua appasang angkana:	Finally, the following statement was issued to this man:
7.	Punna salllang tenama' anrinni (sajanga') punna eroko assarea', nia' antu batu ritangngana pa'rasanganga, andjoremmako sarea';	If in future I will no longer be here (if I will have risen up to heaven) and if you want to give me something, there is a stone there, situated in the middle of the land, there you must then give that to me.

539 773 /47 cont./

8.	Mingka antu sallang batua alolokintu timboranna pa'rasanganga ri poko taipaja;	But this stone will later move to the south of the country, to the mango tree. /48/
9.	Punna andjoremmondjo batua papparekang tomma' balla', nasalloa' andjoremma' antu lammantang.	When the storm arrives there erect a house for me so that I will be able to live there.
10.	Le'baki appasang allannja' tommi.	When he had said this, he ascended to the sky.

773 171 The story appears to be a short edition of the tomanurung stories familiar all over South Celebes. These are stories concerning people descended from the sky (1). In this case the narrator has also given an explanation of the name Besenga in the same story. This combination is customary.

241 796 Now we shall try to give a description of this brief harvest ritual (2).

Around half past twelve in the afternoon, the Pinati thinks that it is time to begin. He sits down under the mango tree next to the stone lying there, with his face turned to the south. About 40 bowls with offerings have been placed on top of this stone and next to it, as close together as possible. All of these contain glutinous rice with a hard-boiled egg pressed into

---

1. See Friedericy's discussion, pp. 469ff and 506 ff.

2. For a description of the essentials of the ritual, see pp. 81, 82.

244 796 /48 cont./ it and half a baked chicken (*djangang panggang*) on top of it. The Pinati winds a white cloth around his own headdress and places incense in the already burning incense vessel. Beside him stand a glass of water, a little bowl with [264] water for washing his hands, and another little bowl with some betel and areca nuts, like those which are put next to the meal of honored guests. They are for the recipient of the offerings that are about to be made. Furthermore, there is a little bottle of oil and a little basket with puffed rice (*bente*) by his side.

Now he first places his hand on the stone and mutters briefly. Then he takes the little bottle of oil, holds it momentarily in the smoke above the incense vessel, and drips a circle of oil counterclockwise onto the stone, which is flat on top. Inside this circle he places, one after the other, three handfuls of puffed rice. Each hand is first held for a moment above the incense vessel. Now the Pinati takes the incense vessel in his right hand, and with his left hand he smokes the stone three times. Then he moves his right hand /49/ with the vessel over the stone, three times counterclockwise, and once after that clockwise. Then the incense vessel is put down again, and the Pinati quietly places a few fingers of his right hand against the stone, again briefly mumbling a few sentences.

Now he takes up the incense vessel again and describes a circle with it around the stone and all the bowls placed on top and to the side of it. A number of women help in passing the vessel around, taking special care that the incense vessel travels around all the bowls. In this manner it is passed around from hand to hand, three times one way, and once the other way. After each trip around, it thus returns to the hands of the Pinati, who then briefly smokes the stone, essentially to mark the point from where it started. After this he successively opens two *parappo* (1), holding them momentarily above the

---

1. See p. 84.

241 /49 cont./ incense vessel, and then lays them down on the
796 stone next to each other. The Pinati moves the incense vessel again, now three times one way and once the other, in a circle above the two *parappo,* and then puts it down by his side. In so doing, this part of the ritual is completed. For a moment the Pinati remains quietly seated. From the time he dropped some incense into the vessel to this moment, seven minutes have elapsed.

Now he sits down in the *saukang,* facing north. A small number of bowls with offerings are placed around the lopped-off center post. A few older women occupy the rest of the space in the *saukang.*

The Pinati provides the incense vessel with fresh fuel, holding the oil bottle over it briefly and dripping it in a small circle on the top part of the post. Within this circle he places three handfuls of puffed rice, each time holding the hand first in the smoke for a brief instant. Subsequently, he moves the incense vessel in a circle three times one way and once the other way over the lopped-off post and throws a few handfuls of puffed rice -- always after having first held them in the smoke above the incense vessel -- over the bowls with food. After that he opens a third *parappo,* holds this, too, in the smoke for an instant, and then lays it down beside the post. Then he moves the incense vessel again, three times one way and once the other way over this *parappo,* laying some fingers of his right hand against the top of the lopped-off center post, and mumbling briefly. Again he scatters /50/ a few handfuls of puffed rice over the food bowls and throws a few kernels over his shoulder. With this the actual ritual is concluded. This part of the ritual, which took place in the *saukang,* was also completed within seven minutes.

241 The bowls with offerings were then taken away and
796 placed before the men, who had arranged themselves in rows
264 on mats, according to their standing. The women kept a
554

241 /50 cont./ number of bowls for themselves. They ate in small
796 groups seated around the bowls without any special order
264 according to standing being observed in so doing.

554 Some pinati at the ritual take a few fingers of rice plus
the extreme end of a chicken leg (only the bone) from each
bowl and place this by the parappo. In this manner something
[769] has been put aside for the ancestors from each house.

[541] Men now let their cocks fight again as they did in the
morning. Meanwhile the Pinati goes around and touches
241 everybody who wants it with a mixture of oil, earth, and finely
796 rubbed rice, as well as something else which is his special
secret. The parts of the body suited for this are the forehead,
the neck, and the navel. The purpose is to cause these persons
[769] to share in the prosperity (pitjuru') of this ancestor through the
earth with which he came in contact (nibarakkakki) (1).

> 1. It is good practice to take for this purpose earth from as close to the stone as possible and as soon after the conclusion of the ritual as possible (see photograph). [see End Plate 7.-Analyst]

After the meal many stay to watch the cocks for a while. Only gradually do they return home. Only a few pisang and betel leaves, some pieces of areca and rice kernels remain by the stone under the tree and in the saukang next to the looped-off center post. The wind easily drives the dried-up leaves asunder; ants and birds make off with the rest. The oil spots alone remain visible as a sign that the ancestors were honored.

Horizontal Mobility

166 Three aspects of horizontal mobility will be described here. First of all, the relationship of place of residence to place of birth; secondly, the migrations which take place during a unit of time in one certain kampong territory; and

166 /50 cont./ thirdly, colonizations. The latter refers to the movements of Makassarese to Buginese districts. /51/

162 1. The Relationship of Place of Residence to Place of Birth

621 Of the 803 residents of kampong Bontoramba on July 1, 1949, 166 207 were born outside the kampong. Almost 75 per cent of the total therefore lived in their native kampong (1).

1. Sorokin, in his work Social Mobility (pp. 381 ff.) compares the territorial circulation of individuals in societies of western Europe with that in India. His book was published in 1927, and his figures are a quarter of a century old. From these figures it appears that in West Europe of that time, specifically in France, 57.2 per cent of the rural population was born in the district where it resided at the moment of registration. For India, on the other hand, according to the census of 1901, this percentage was more than 90 per cent. Sorokin draws the conclusion, which moreover was established upon the basis of numerous other data, that western Europe displayed a much greater territorial mobility than India.

Of the 207, 119 were born outside Bontoramba but within the adat community of Borongloë; the rest, 88, or approximately

162 /51 cont./ 9 per cent of the total number of residents,
166 were born outside; 30 individuals (approximately 3.5 per
621 cent) were born outside Goa Province.

The percentage of those born in Bontoramba appears to
162 be greater in the Kapala group, the most settled one, than
166 in the other two groups, namely 82 per cent as against 54
612 per cent in the Mangenre and 52 per cent in the Rest group.
621 The following table makes these percentages clear.

	Total Number of Individuals	Born Outside Bontoramba	Born Outside Bontoramba but Within Borongloë	Born Outside Borongloë but Within Goa	Born Outside Goa
Kapala Group	536	81	51	28	2
Mangenre "	94	42	17	5	20
Rest "	173	84	51	25	8
Residents of Kampong Bontoramba as of July 1, 1949	803	207	119	58	30

/52/ The large number of people in the Mangenre group
born outside Goa, namely 20 of the 42, is striking. In the
Kapala and the Rest group these numbers are 2 and 8
respectively of the 51. An explanation for this is to be found
162 in the fact that their land of origin lies outside Goa; many
166 of them were born there. This trend continues longer than
612 one would expect because people prefer children to be born
621 in the house, or at least in the land, where the mother was
844

162
166
612 /52 cont./ born herself. Women who are pregnant, prefer
621 to return to their homeland Pangkadjene, at least for their
[844] first confinement.

Thirty-two of the 51 members of the Kapala group born outside Bontoramba, but within the adat community, come from kampongs bordering on Bontoramba, such as Buttadidi (10) and Songkolo (12), as well as from near-by Borong (9). In the kampongs situated farther away, the numbers are smaller: Parang Banua, 4; Borongkaluku, 3; Bontoa, 2; Bontomanai and Kotjikang, each 1; from the adjoining Pagentungang, 1. Pakatto (9) forms an understandable exception because, as was reported above, it is regarded as the homeland of the members of the Kapala group.

From these figures, therefore, it appears that approximately 80 per cent of the Bontoramba population was born in Bontoramba or its vicinity.

166 2. Migrations

591 It further appeared that kampong residents repeatedly
592 changed houses either for a longer or a shorter period of time. This phenomenon, though it can be observed, is not easily expressed in figures.

I tried to gain an insight into the number of those who
[125] changed houses by carrying out a second kampong survey exactly a year after the first one. The -- in my opinion -- many prolonged visits and other changes that took place in the course of the year where the previous state of affairs had been restored again through subsequent changes could not be covered by this registration. The results obtained in this manner are as follows.

In 76 of the 133 houses a change in composition took place during the year (from July 1, 1948 through June 30, 1949).
166 Births and deaths were not registered because they were not
591 relevant to this study /53/ of mobility. Divided into the
592 usual three groups, the data showed that 39 of the 81
612

166
591
592
612

/53 cont./ Kapala-group houses had remained unchanged in their composition, as well as 4 of the 19 belonging to the Mangenre group, and 14 of the 33 belonging to the Rest group.

Those who had been registered as residents of Bontoramba as of July 1, 1949 and who did not live there a year ago were registered as immigrants, and those who lived there on July 1, 1948 but who were no longer present on July 1, 1949 were registered as emigrants. Persons who in the course of the year had gone to live in another house in the kampong were registered as transmigrants (1). Distributed over the three groups (Kapala, Mangenre, and Rest), one obtains the following picture of the mobility of individuals.

	Immigrants	Emigrants	Transmigrants	Total Number of Individuals Who Changed Houses
Kapala	26	18	34	78 of a total of 536 members of the Kapala group
Mangenre	6	23	12	41 of a total of 94 members of the Mangenre group
Rest	10	12	4	26 of a total of 173 members of the Rest group
Total	42	53	50	145 of a total of 803 kampong residents as of July 1, 1949

---

1. Transmigrants are counted once as individuals, but they bring about a change in the composition of two house/holds/s.

166 591 592 /53 cont./ This means, therefore, that over a period of one year, two-elevenths of all kampong residents changed houses.

612 The subdivision into Kapala, Mangenre, and Rest group shows that the largest migration took place in the Mangenre group, where almost /sic/ two-fifths of the group members moved, while in the Kapala and Rest groups approximately one-seventh of the members changed domicile. As a reason for this we could cite the fact that the Mangenre group most closely approximates what is called below a group of colonists. The members of such a group seem to form little attachment to their place of residence. Many of the Mangenre group moved away to Macassar, where, according to reports, they were able to earn more money than in Bontoramba.

166 591 According to these figures, migration is just about equal among men and women. /54/ For 72 migrating men there are 73 migrating women.

592 The difference in migration between married and unmarried people does not seem to be great. Here one should differentiate the cases where only a married man or woman changes houses from the migration of a complete family unit.

In one year, 22 families with 35 children moved in Bontoramba, a total of 79 persons. In 8 of these 22 cases, a young couple moved away from the parental house. A two-family house in this way became a one-family house. This reflects the striving of each family to have its own house (1).

[125]

1. A young man or woman who moved to his (her) spouse's family after marriage, thus changing a one-family dwelling into a two-family dwelling, was registered as a transmigrant.

Three families who wanted to live closer to their sawahs

166 /54 cont./ located in another kampong emigrated there.
591 In two cases a marriage by flight was the reason for a family
592 migration, and in two others the fact that the house became severely damaged and run down. In one case a quarrel was given as the reason, but this concerns two families in one house who were not related to each other. In another case a married couple from a neighboring adat community came to live in Bontoramba in order to work for an employer. In the remaining five cases, the motives did not become apparent (2).

2. The small number of children (35) in these 22 families is due to the fact that some of these are young families who moved into a house of their own for the first time. Two recently married silariang couples likewise had (as yet) only a few children.

166
574
591 While 79 persons migrated as a family unit, 66 individuals
592 moved to other houses. The reasons given for these changes
[736] vary a great deal. An old widower lives alternately with one of his children. An orphan goes from one uncle and aunt to the other. An old deaf-mute man lives in turn with his many -- and distant -- nephews and nieces, who prefer to see him go rather than come. The contracting of a marriage, the committing of silariang, are further reasons for changing houses. A Javanese and a poverty-stricken orphan who came to live and work with people in Bontoramba raised the number of immigrants. A sickly little boy goes to stay with his grandfather for a few weeks or months./55/ The grandfather's house, incidentally, is one minute's walk away from the boy's

574
166
591 /55 cont./ parents, and he goes there "to get better." A
592 child that is a "nuisance" is temporarily housed with a brother
[855] or sister of his parents who live in the immediate vicinity.
Experience teaches that in another environment such
[861] naughtiness goes away most readily. A younger sister of the
wife regularly comes to stay "for company" with a newly
married couple that has just obtained its own house. When a
young man marries, his younger brother comes with him for
a while "in order to take care of the buffaloes there." A
woman who is angry at her husband asks one of her female
relatives, who are at the same time neighbors, to come and
sleep with her. The rejection is clear. Viewed rationally,
these are all valid reasons in Makassarese country. The result
is that housemates rarely stay in a house in the same
combination. As such, therefore, housemates do not form
[602] a stable group. Men or women, married or unmarried but
always kinsmen, regularly come to visit, for the most varied
reasons, and stay for a short or longer period of time.
Horizontal mobility is a function of the related group (1).

> 1. This mobility seems to me to be equal to that of the prewar period. Nothing would suggest that the Japanese period or contacts thereafter had a stimulating influence upon this mobility.

To give a reason for these frequently occurring migrations
158 can only be done by way of suggestion. To this end, however,
865 another element of this culture must first be described; this
is the condition of "adjallo."

Adjallo' is best described as a fit of temper. The individual throws himself to the ground; he screams and kicks violently for a few minutes, and when the attack has passed

158
866 /55 cont./ he seems completely normal again. Such attacks were observed by me only with children. In both cases they were children spoiled by their environment. Everything they did was admired in an exaggerated fashion. They were allowed to do much more than other children; nobody forbade them anything. When the girl spilled a whole pile of paddy, the owner merely laughed good-naturedly. When the boy playfully broke a plate, this was excused and made out to be of absolutely no consequence. Only their own parents grumbled at them. But even this /56/ indulgence and interest came to an end. That is the moment when the child may have such a fit of temper (1).

[114]

1. Matthes (see *Woordenboek*, p. 420) translates *adjallo'* as "running amuck." *Adjallo'*, in my opinion, is a designation for a certain mental condition which in effect does have a number of external characteristics in common with amuck, but so long as the internal impulses are not better known than at present, it seems to me incorrect to accept his translation. Matthes also gives as an example "*tau andjalloki sarenna*"; he translates this by "one who runs amuck with his lot" and makes this clear by adding, "that is, one who is always dissatisfied with his lot, for instance, he who demands today this, tomorrow that, position, and so on."

158 626 /56 cont./ According to reports, adults are also subject to such attacks, however, I never witnessed this. To be sure, an adult sometimes uses it as a threat, for instance, when he (she) has set his (her) mind on something that seems unattainable. A woman from Macassar who had caused a drum (ganrang) to be played at a festival of her kin group in Goa was questioned about this by the kapalakampong /kampong head/ concerned, since playing the ganrang is a prerogative of the nobility in Goa. [533 565] She threatened with adjallo' if the use of the drum should be forbidden her, and finally a decision was made that the drum could be played because she did not live in Goa and at home in Macassar she was allowed to play the ganrang.

In Macassar a girl who was sixteen years old and still at school threatened adjallo' because she wanted to continue attending school in spite of obvious disapproval on the part of her mother and aunts. A man arranged his second marriage behind the back of his first wife because, as he said, he was afraid that she would adjallo' and in so doing might well prevent his second marriage if she heard about it beforehand.

The reaction of others to such fits of temper was one of aversion. People turned away; no one made an attempt to help, nor did anyone appear angry. It was believed that nothing could be done about it.

158 578 Both phenomena, mobility and adjallo', in my opinion should be regarded as expressions of a conflict for which the individual sees no other solution, a conflict which is based on personality structure. It was impossible for me to do any further investigation along these lines. The fact that both sexes participate in mobility to the same extent might suggest the /57/ necessity for an analysis of the "basic personality structure" /cited in English/ (1) of the Makassarese.

(1) For this term see A. Kardiner, most recently in *The Psychological Frontiers of Society*, New York, 1945.

167 /57 cont./ The Makassarese and Buginese proclivity for colonizing as well as their call to the sea can probably be explained by the same conflict.

3. Colonizations

The move of a man of high nobility with a large number of followers to a remote region, such as could be observed half a century ago, might in a few cases be explained by difficulties with very close relatives.

In the case of recent migrations of Makassarese to Buginese country, an economic motive is always reported. However, it seems more correct to say that changes in the economic structure stimulated the tendency toward mobility.

In several kampongs situated to the north of Parepare, large groups speaking Makassarese have been found. I undertook an investigation in three kampongs, Kape, Langa, and Paria. The aim was to explore the integration of Makassarese colonists, living among the Buginese. To make a distinction from the migrations discussed above, we shall here refer to colonizations.

124
125
167 The "Makassarese" living in a certain kampong were in each case called together for a brief survey. This usually resulted in a number of adult men appearing. They were questioned on several points: their name and the names of their housemates; who of these were married; whether this married couple was related to each other and if so to what degree; whether this marriage had taken place in the festive manner or by way of *silariang;* which region they regarded as their homeland; for how long they had resided here; the reasons that had led them to leave their homeland and come here.

The results showed few differences between the three kampongs. /58/ Everywhere the tie with the homeland turned out to be a very close one. During harvest time, kinsmen came to help. After the harvest, individuals of the colonists'

167 /58 cont./ group regularly went back to the homeland, albeit only temporarily. Everywhere people gave as a reason for colonization the fact that it was easier to earn one's livelihood here than in the homeland. In two of the three kampongs, there were more men than women, a phenomenon which is to be regarded as normal (1) in the regions of colonization, where the heavy work falls to the men.

Only a general tendency was observable for the period when most of the colonists had come. Men of approximately fifty years stated that they had come here first as young men, thus about 25 years before, initially often as seasonal workers, and that they had stayed to live here only later. Others gave their arrival as from 20 years to a year ago. My impression is that after a few pioneers had first arrived, large numbers of Makassarese began to migrate to the north around 1935. From the statements of a number of informants it appeared that their present-day place of residence was not their first, but that they had originally settled elsewhere after their departure from the homeland. It can be stated that, once people make one move, further migrations frequently follow.

167
563 The migrants did not possess an ornament: "That remained in Galesong," as they once put it. I did not see any saukang on the sawahs. People denied having little ancestral houses or offering bowls (2) in their houses. They gave as the reason for this the fact that the Buginese among whom they lived here were strict Moslems who did not care for such old-fashioned affairs.

---

1. See the table on p. 80 for figures.

2. See pp. 86, 87.

167
423
466
/58 cont./ With a few exceptions these colonists owned no land in Buginese country (3). They worked fields that belonged to large landowners, who here are both members of the nobility as well as merchants who have become wealthy during the last 10 to 15 years. Since 1939 the leadership of the Sadang irrigation project has been turning extensive /59/ dry-land regions into potentially fertile sawah areas. The shortage of manpower, however, is extreme. As long as this continues, the colonists can demand very good working conditions. Their bargaining position is strong. For example, one group demanded of a certain large landowner that he let no others cut rice in his sawahs.

167
423
There is little expression of a need for securing a more solid economic position by buying land in the new region of residence. Some even considered a sawah at such a distance from the homeland an unsafe possession. Several colonists seemed to have redeemed sawahs which they had earlier mortgaged in their homeland with money they earned in Buginese country, and even to have given mortgages on new sawahs there. At this point, therefore, the tie with the homeland seemed to be very strong.

3. The group in Paria was primarily making a living from a number of fishponds situated along the seacoast. They had found these in a deplorable state but had restored them completely. They lived on the ponds where they bred and marketed fish under very favorable conditions at the time of the study.

563 582 /59 cont./ Many young colonists return to the homeland in order to marry. According to the figures I obtained, the percentage of marriages contracted between non-kinsmen among the colonists is only a little higher than in Bontoramba. A small number of marriages was contracted with Buginese. For those who live far away from home for a long period, marriage with neighborhood associates seems tempting.

563 583 In addition the small percentage of *silariang* marriages is striking. Without closer investigation, it is impossible to indicate a reason for this. "The Buginese marry more easily than we do"; "they do not find *silariang* so important"; Buginese ideas were formulated and compared with their own notions on this point in this way. It may well be that the small percentage of *silariang* marriages is a reflection of the fact that the Makassarese have in part accepted these Buginese ideas.

342 563 184 The houses of these colonists are smaller and stand on lower posts than those of their Buginese fellow kampong residents; the walls are frequently made of atap, while the Buginese have wooden or bamboo walls. On the whole, therefore, their dwellings make a poor impression compared with those of the Buginese as well as with those of their kinsmen back home. The average number of occupants in one house is just a little lower than that in Bontoramba.

186 563 Just as for the Buginese in Makassarese country, the common language constitutes a unifying element for these colonists.

621 The tie with the group of relatives in the homeland is strong. Marriages with the new neighborhood associates are rare. The worship /60/ /61/ community is extremely weak, since all remain members of the worship community back home. Common residence and work in the same territory creates ties between its residents. The tie to the land is weak. The indigenous residents have control of the land. In individual cases a newcomer was able to obtain a piece of land,

162
167
563
582
583

1:Chabot--80 E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

	Total Number of Registered Houses	Total Number of Individuals	Men	Women	Festive Marriages	Silariang Marriages	Married Couple Related to Each Other	Married Couple Not Related to Each Other	Average Number of Individuals per House	Place of Origin	
Kape	25	133	80	53	27	1	19	9	5 1/3	Galesong Lebakkang Pangkadjene Maros	7 10 4 4
Langa	28	165	85	80	22	7	26	3	5. 9	Galesong Lebakkang Segeri	28 9 2
Paria	15	80	34	46	16	1	8	9	5 1/3	Pangkadjene Maros Djeneponto	1 2 1
Total 1949	68	378	199	179	65	9	53	21	5. 56		
Bontoramba 1948	129	787	382	405	105	27	104	28	6. 1		

186 /61 cont./ but the majority are only interested in owning
563 land back in the homeland.

Language and common residence strengthen, at least for the time being, the integration of the colonists.

The Worship Community

612
769 The Makassarese related group was defined as a group of relatives whose members worship their ancestors at places and times designated for this purpose.

Participation in ancestor worship is linked to kinship. For instance, one whose grandparents were not related to each other, and whose two pairs of grandparents were not related to each other either, belongs to four different groups of relatives and may participate in the ancestor worship of all four different groups. In practice, an individual participates primarily in the worship of the group with which he lives. But he may also share in that of his kinsmen, even if he does
[557] not have daily contact with them. His choice in this is determined to a great degree by the social standing of these kinsmen. There is a demonstrable preference among people to turn to the prominent members of the related group in ritual matters.

769 Here we will first describe the most significant aspects of the ritual. Subsequently, we will make comparisons with the ornament ritual.

Essentials of the Ritual

In spite of local differences and despite personal viewpoints of the person carrying out the ritual, the pinati (1), there is a high degree of uniformity in the ritual prescriptions. A number of elements are to be found everywhere, such as rice, oil, incense, and water. Some actions /62/ are carried

---

1. See pp. 82, 83.

769 /62 cont./ out in the same sequence in every instance. They will be briefly reported here.

[793] [777] By donning a white headdress, the pinati makes himself distinguishable as the one who is going to bring about contact between the living and their ancestors. The throwing of rice, usually in puffed form (bente), over the offerings is done because it is believed that rice brings good luck. The pinati sprinkles a circle of drops of oil around the offerings with the little oil bottle. After he has placed incense in a burning incense vessel, with the latter, he describes the same circle, first three times counterclockwise and then once clockwise. This done, he places the offering, the "parappo" (1), prepared by himself, inside the circle next to the offering bowls. Both the puffed rice as well as the parappo is momentarily held over the incense vessel each time for purposes of purification, so that whatever enters it will always be pure. An imaginary circle thus separates that which is brought into contact with the ancestors from the rest of the world. The pinati then places a few fingers of his right hand as it were against the circle and mumbles for a few moments. In so doing, the ritual is concluded.

What he mumbles is kept secret by the pinati. At the same time he always communicates the factual events to the ancestors. Thus, at the time of planting: "We have come here to report to you that we are going to plant; if we obtain a good harvest we will offer the best of it to you." Or at the harvest festival: "Here I bring you the best of my harvest."

The Pinati

612 793 The Pinati of Bontoramba was a kinsman of the Kapala. His standing was high in his related group because of his personal qualities. He functioned as a regulator of marriages and

---

1. See p. 84.

612 /62 cont./ always had a leading role at the conferences
793 concerning the expenses of the wedding feast, and so forth, which always precede the marriages. He knew the wedding song and was a valued expert on, and healer of, diseases. The title of such a functionary is sanro. With one single exception, he was called in for help in all these matters only by the members of the Kapala group. He further managed the harvest festival, which involved the entire territory /63/ of Bontoramba and in which, for that reason, members of other groups also took part. In ordinary life he did not distinguish himself either in clothing or outward appearance from other residents of Bontoramba.

796 He himself prepares the essence of what is offered, the
462 parappo. The further preparation of the ritual, which is very detailed and consumes a great deal of time, is carried out by the women. Each and every one of the women is better informed about ritual matters than the men. The preparation of the offerings, the hallowing of the water to be used at the ritual, the hallowing of the bowls and dishes from which they will eat, the finding of leaves of a special, prescribed nature necessary at the ritual, the making of the candles (kandjoli), all these are elements of the ritual taken care of by the women. They are also not activities familiar to every one of them. The names of the leaves and the arrangement of the offerings have their own significance. In these things one may not make a mistake. An informant once characterized the situation by saying, "Islam is the religion of the men, ancestor worship that of the women." Whenever there is no pinati present, therefore, one will see one of the older women taking his place. At small festivities concerning a /nuclear/ family, the women frequently conducted the ritual themselves. The pinati functions where the entire community is involved in the festival.

778 /63 cont./ The *Parappo*

796 The *parappo* belongs to the essential part of what is offered
to the ancestors. The word means: "to offer or give something to a superior." The *parappo* is an insignificant-looking little bundle of pisang leaves of about the size of one or two fists full. Its contents seems to consist of betel leaves folded in various ways. Each way of folding has its proper name (for instance: *poto*, *tontong lebong*, *putu rabing*, *kalomping*).
796 A little piece of areca nut and a very small amount of lime
554 (*paleo*) goes with every betel leaf. The number of these
leaves varies according to status. In the Prince of Goa's
612 kin group the number 9 forms the basis of the *parappo* (1),
778
[801]
while in the kin group of the head of the adat community it is 7. /64/ In that of kampong people, the numbers 7, 6, 5, and 4 occur.

612 A number of further differences should be pointed out
778 which vary with the related group. At the ritual on the
184 sawah, the number of leaves in some groups is a little smaller
796 than at a wedding or other kin group feast. Four and 6
respectively were the numbers in the Kapala group in Bontoramba. In a few groups of relatives a further distinction was observed between boys and girls. If the number of leaves for a boy is 6, then it is 7 for a girl (1). A distinction

---

1. By the number that forms the basis of the *parappo* is meant that a *parappo* consists in one case of 4 *poto*, 4 *kalomping*, etc., and in another case of 6 *poto*, 6 *kalomping*, etc.

1. These numbers were observed at a number of birthday festivals.

612 /*64 cont.*/ is likewise made between the offering presented
778 to the ancestors in the attic and that which -- on the occasion
184 of the same festival -- is delivered into the water. At a
796 festival in the Kapala group the numbers were 6 and 7
respectively.

The *Rojong* Song

533 The *rojong* song constitutes another significant element
796 of the ritual. Old women hum the sounds unintelligibly and
monotonously; the exact words frequently are not known to them. This song occurs at wedding feasts and other important solemnities in the related group, and it is coupled with the beating of drums (*ganrang*). The *rojong* song recorded in Borongloë before the war has disappeared. The woman who gave it to me was overcome by all kinds of misfortune. She was not prepared to repeat it to me.

Food Taboos

612 In a single related group there is awareness, however
262 feeble, that the members of the group may not eat a certain
animal (2). In Goa it is still generally known, perhaps, that the members of the *karaëng* group (the nobility) may not eat the meat of the white buffalo.

In the related group of the head of the Borongloë adat community the realization faintly continues that a certain type of eel may not be eaten. To explain this the following
773 story is told: A woman who had violated a prohibition was
612 punished for this with the task of carrying water in a basket
262 from the river to a certain place. The basket, however, did

---

2. Dr. Chr. Nooteboom drew my attention to this phenomenon for the first time in 1939.

773 612 262 /64 cont./ not hold /65/ water. An eel appeared which curled up inside it and in this way closed off the seams of the basket with the slime of its skin, and in that way the woman was able to carry out her task. Out of gratitude she there upon vowed that she and her descendants would not eat the eel and its descendants.

[184] However, neither in the Kapala group nor in any of the other groups in Bontoramba were people able to produce such a story. Nor were they able to name a certain animal that a number of relatives were prohibited from eating.

Pantasa'

778 769 In the attics of Makassarese houses one frequently finds a pantasa' (literally, "bedstead"). This is a little house on posts, from 70 to 100 centimeters tall, hung with mosquito netting. It has a small entrance going up to the front of the house (sapana) such as only the nobility possesses. In this little house one can see a small pillow and a little mat.

The care of these pantasa' primarily involves having a candle burn by its side every Thursday evening at sundown (malang Djuma') and always having ready a glass filled with water, a little bowl with betel and areca nuts, and a cup of water for washing one's hands, such as is customary at every meal. It is believed that the ancestors (pattautoaang) descend here. Therefore, care is taken at all times to leave whatever is customarily presented to an honored guest.

In or near these pantasa' is to be found a small closed basket (baku paballe, literally, "medicine basket"). A number of objects belonging to the ritual are kept in it. Next to the pantasa' one finds, in some cases, a large open basket (salosso), where the larger ritual objects are kept.

[648] It is told that formerly almost all the houses had their pantasa', but that in 1905 the Dutch troops destroyed a great number of them because they were used in blood sacrifices, which always had renewed opposition as a result. It is further

778 /65 cont./ told that members of the Muhammadijah
769 Association agitated against these pantasa', so that many
people made no replacement when the old one was broken.

In 1949, 17 of the 133 houses in Bontoramba had a pantasa'. One stood in 10 of the 81 houses of the Kapala group, in 2 of the 19 houses of the Mangenre group, and in 5 of the 33 houses of the /66/ Rest group. Several of these were obviously new, that is to say, they had been made one or only a few years ago. In 5 houses, a large standing basket (salosso) with ritual objects was found.

In addition to pantasa' one can also see so-called "andja'" in attics of houses. An andja' is a place on which one puts an offering. It is a hanging bamboo basin tray without turned-up rims. In the same enumeration, it appeared that there were 38 andja' in the 133 houses of Bontoramba, distributed over the three groups as follows: 30 in the 81 houses of the Kapala group, none in the 19 houses of the Mangenre group, and 8 in the 33 houses of the Rest group.

778 One who wishes to bring an offering generally prepares
769 more than one parappo; 3 or 4 is customary. A woman
602 declared that at times she prepared as many as 12. The other
parappo are then taken to the pantasa' or the andja' of the
kinsmen who are believed to deserve them. Thus only a few
of the kinsmen who have a pantasa' in their house receive a
parappo. According to reports, this is determined by what the
ancestors have prescribed. A Makassarese does not like to
state the reason why he gives a parappo to some kinsmen and
554 not to others. It is possible to observe, however, that parappo
778 are by preference brought to the houses of those who are
769 appreciated for their personal qualities. And usually these
602 appear to be personalities generally appreciated in the group
of relatives. They are the ones who know how to collect the
most goods, whose advice is gladly asked, whose pitjuru (1)

---

1. See p. 242.

778
769
602 /66 cont./ is gladly received, as well as the ones with whom
554 people prefer to enter into marriage connections.

Thus a few individuals are to be found in each group of
554 relatives on whom the interest of the other relatives is con-
602 centrated. These leading personalities strive, on the one
612 hand, to establish marital ties among each other, on the
769 other, they try to gain the upper hand over each other.
182 The bilateral related group, therefore, has difficulty in showing unity. The ancestor ritual in the forms described above merely keeps the conflicts between the various parties within the related group going. /67/

794 114 The Ornament-Worship Community

Kooreman (1) observed that groups of Makassarese living together in a certain territory worshipped a certain object which he called "the ornament." In the literature that came after him, these are sometimes called "ornament communities." They are regarded as territorial units. Nooteboom later summarized Kooreman's definitions. He spoke of "objects, externally of a very arbitrary character, worshipped by a certain community of individuals and regarded as sacred" (2).

---

[113] 1. P.J. Kooreman, "De feitelijke toestand in het gouvernementsgebied van Celebes en Onderhorigheden," Indische Gids, 1883, pp. 143ff.

[113] 2. Chr. Nooteboom, "Naar aanleiding van de Rijkssieraden in Zuid-Celebes/With Reference to Regalia in South Celebes/," K.T., 1937, p. 168.

114 794 /67 cont./ In 1940 I thought I was able to indicate the connection between ornament and ancestors by assuming that ancestor worship frequently attached itself to an ornament (3).

[113] 3. H. Th. Chabot, "Over the Makassaarsche samenleving en een erfrechtelijke kwestie /Concerning Makassarese Society and a Question of Inheritance/, " T.B.G. /Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde, erroneously cited; see Bibliography, p. 347. -- Tr./, 1940, pp. 325ff.

I considered at that time Nooteboom's "certain community" to be the kin group. At present an attempt will be made to determine more closely the relationship between ornament and ancestor worship.

778 794 The ornament of Borongloë is kept in the attic of the dwelling belonging to the head of the adat community. It is an old flag on which a cock is pictured. Wrapped in a white cloth, the flag is kept in a closed basket in the ancestral house (pantasa').

[769] The worship taking place at this ornament corresponds in all important points to the ancestor worship described above. The elements and the course of the ritual are the same. The parappo has the same task and a similar composition in this case. The rojong song and ritual objects here find a similar application. Here, too, the entire preparation lies in the hands of the women, and the pinati appears where the ritual concerns the whole group and not just a few relatives. [773] The tomanurung myth of Borongloë, reproduced by Friedericy in his own words, corresponds in important respects with that of Bontoramba. At the sacred spot of Borongloë, where the ritual takes place on the most important occasions for the group, the stone, the saukang (little offering house), and the trees are again to be found together.

794 796 602 /68/ Those who worship the ornament together form the "worship community." The ornament of Borongloë is worshipped in the first place by the head of the adat community and his relatives. Sometimes relatives living outside the adat community also take part in it. In the second place, followers and slaves of the head and his relatives also take part in the ritual. In the third place, there are the other subjects living in the adat community territory, and in the fourth place, there are those who live outside Borongloë who are not related to the head but who wish to participate for other reasons.

In practice the first two categories, quantitatively speaking, always form the largest contingent at the festivals. The third category at the same time should be the most numerous,
[622] but here one is satisfied with representation. The kampong head represents his kampong. Hence, all kampong heads are present at all important Borongloë festivals. Occasionally, they may send a statement that they were prevented from attending or else an observer.

The ornament of Goa is worshipped in an analogous manner first of all by the kinsmen of the Prince, regardless of whether they live in Goa or not; secondly, by the followers and slaves of the Prince and of his kinsmen; thirdly, by all (other) subjects of the Prince residing within Goa. This group is referred to when it is said that "the entire people of Goa"
[634] was present at a festival that was regarded as concerning the whole of Goa. At such festivals, the heads of the adat communities attend to represent their regions. Finally, the ornament is worshipped on such occasions by those who, although not related to the Prince and living outside Goa, nevertheless wish to take part in the festival.

[554] The size of the worship group is therefore larger in a stronger group of relatives. The ornaments of the most powerful provinces, such as Bone, Luwu, and Goa, are worshipped all over South Celebes.

648 /68 cont./ The provinces of South Celebes have made
774 up a federation since 1948. The administration of this
554 federation has been placed in the hands of an administrative council (*Hadat Tinggi*), and the princes of Bone and Goa respectively have become president and vice-president of this body. As a result, it is to be expected that the worship of the ornaments of these two realms will increase accordingly throughout the *daërah*.

778 /69/ In the Borongloë adat community two other
612 ornaments are known in addition to the headman's ornament.
634 For an adat community head, an ornament inside his region constitutes a potential threat. Only a related group which has an ornament has in effect the ability to act outwardly as a unit. And an ornament generally speaking is in the possession of a related group which in former times had a stronger position of power than it does at present. Stories concerning the old time of glory continue to live on, and each new generation awaits its chance to regain the old position of power.

[621] The two ornaments referred to are found in the kampongs of Borongrappo and Bontoa.

The relatives of a former adat community head of Borongloë, deposed in 1916, have their residence in Borongrappo. They kept their ornament. The successor, the father of the present-day head, was related to the Borongrappo group. At the same time he belonged to a group which possessed its own ornament. The latter became the ornament of the whole of Borongloë when the successor was raised to the headship. In 1939, on this occasion, a so-called purification ritual took place, and at that point the ornament of Borongrappo was brought to that of Borongloë. In the ritual, the virtual subordination of the former to the latter was made known by this procedure.

During the turbulent period from 1946 to 1947, the group of relatives at Bontoa ranged itself behind the adat community
[726] head. As a sign of favorable inclination as well as of

612
634
778
726

/69 cont./ subordination, the weapons of the men of Borongloë were ritually painted with blood near that ornament, in preparation for the battle.

The history of this related group and its ornament has not become clear (1).

538 1. Oral traditions are always fragmentary. Each group of relatives counts only a few men or women who know anything about the history of their kin group; Their knowledge is limited, however, to a few events, and these at the same time are only those which prove the greatness of the group. A regular narrative can never be obtained. Only in a concrete difficult situation does one of the most important members of the group tell how formerly in a similar situation the solution was found, and how, in his opinion, the conditions at present should be viewed and the difficulties solved. The narrator in so doing chooses his words so casually and easily that it is clear that he does not regard himself as tied to a certain text or even to details. On the contrary, one receives the impression

538 /69 cont./ that he improvises and illuminates the present-day state of affairs by the aid of a few data, just as seems to him best for his group at that moment. At the same time, he seems to be completely convinced of the 'objective' correctness of his representation of the historic facts.

612 794 /70/ The members of these two worship communities are the members of the local group of relatives, a few kinsmen residing outside the kampong boundaries, an occasional follower, and a very occasional slave, as well as possibly also a stranger who for some reason or other joins in the worship.

778 794 [554] Ornaments are therefore found in the kingdom, the adat community, and in the kampong. Nowhere is the worship community of an ornament sharply delimited. The larger the actual power of a group of relatives, the larger does the worship community of this group's ornament seem to be.

612 778 The relationship between the ornaments is a reflection of the actual power relation of the groups of relatives. Two occasions at which this could be observed will be reported.

796 778 612 1. At the ritual "purification of the land" (akawarru butta), which took place for the last time in Borongloë a number of years before the Second World War, the head with his kinsmen and followers carried the ornament of Borongloë through the various kampongs of the adat community. In each kampong they spent the night, a buffalo was killed, a celebration was held, and offerings were made at the ornament. In the kampongs where the people possessed an ornament, the

612 /70 cont./ subordination of the latter with respect to that of
778 Borongloë was expressed in the ritual. These festivities
796 strengthened the sense of solidarity within the adat community,
and by the wealth displayed on these occasions, they raised
the standing of Borongloë both in its own, as well as in
others', eyes.

2. A few days before the inauguration of the new prince
of Goa in 1947, the ornaments of Goa and of Borongloë en-
countered each other at a certain place located in Borongloë
[103] by the name of Tamarunang. The following myth is connected
with this place.

539

1.	Pau-pauanna Tamarunang.	The story of Tamarunang.
2.	Riolo, riwattu erona appare' kota Karaëngnga ri Goa,	A long time ago, when the Prince of Goa wanted to build a fort,
3.	nanrai' assuro angngalle batu ri binangaja ri Songkolo.	he commanded his people to enter the interior in order to get rocks in the river near Songkolo. /71/
4.	Naandjo tau angngallea batu narasai naalle batu aganna Barugaja ri Songkolo.	And the people who got the rocks at that time, accidentally brought back a rock such as lies near the Baruga of Songkolo (1).

[344]

1. A baruga (see Matthes, *Woordenboek*, p. 195) is a festival shed. At the spot designated as "the baruga of Songkolo, " no festival shed is in existence, however. The rock which lies there today is the investiture rock of Borongloë.

/71 cont./

5.	Le'baki nabonei rakina batu, narasatommi napanai' andjo batua;	When they loaded their raft with rocks, they accidentally loaded this rock onto it, too;
6.	nanampa nalurang kalau';	and then they traveled back again,
7.	ero'na erang kalau' ri kota naparĕka Karaĕnga ri Goa.	down the river, with the intention of bringing this rock to the fort that was being built for the Prince.
8.	Naandjo parakika narapina Pakua tudjunna wara' pammantanganna kammakammanne, rakika tea sikali alolo,	But when the raft pilot came to Pakua, situated to the north of the present-day location of the rock, the raft not only absolutely refused to go on,
9.	sanggennandjo rakika tabbuli-bulinta, naandjo batua tenatodong nakkulle tuguru'.	but even turned over; the rock, however, did not come off.
10.	Siapa sallona andjo rakika tabbuli-bulinta, andjo batua nampa tommi alolo kale-kale nai'ri pammantanganna kammakammanne.	Some time after the raft had capsized, the rock of its own initiative began to creep toward its present-day location.
11.	Djari battunamo nai' andjo batua, nampa tommi ero' alolo andjo rakika kalau'.	Only when the rock had arrived there, was the raft willing to float on down the river. /72/
12.	Saba' nitjini' naandjo buata appakamma, naia battuna nai', nia' ngassemmi taua battu antjiniki nani-passamaturukimo ri tau	And because they had seen what this rock did, all the people had come, after it had arrived at its present site, in order to look at it, and all these people agreed

/*72 cont.*/

539 djaia niareng	that it should be called
Tamarunang.	"the one not falling off the raft" (*Tamarunang*).

612 The explanation of the name is clear. In addition, the
778 relationship of Tamarunang to Songkolo and to Goa is indicated.
796 In conversations that I had in 1948 concerning the significance of this encounter of the ornaments, the Prince emphasized the fact that it expresses the subordination of Borongloë to Goa. For the rest, the case was presented as being insignificant. As for Borongloë, the head declared that by means of this ritual Borongloë had lent support to Goa, without which this country would have been regarded as severely weakened.

If one is to conceive of the rock in the myth as a symbol of Borongloë, then the independence of Borongloë in relation to Goa is here clearly represented (1).

1. The narrator was the Kapala of Bontoramba.

612 A group of relatives without an ornament seems to exer-
778 cise only little actual power. The relationship of opposition between prominent members of this group appears to be the most important reason for this.

Where an ornament is present, the oppositions existing between prominent members of the related group are not removed. In a number of cases they merely recede into the background behind an appearance of unity. Where the local relationships give rise to it, such oppositions come to the fore, possibly with even greater bitterness. The fraternal struggle of Sidenreng is a classic example of this (2).

2. See pp. 159-161.

Where there is an ornament, two groups of relatives may sometimes merge into one. An example will serve to illustrate this point.

634 /73/ The former adat community head, still a young man
612 in 1916, belonged to two groups of relatives which lived
together, one in Borongrappo, the other in Parang Banua.
621 When he became head in that year, the members of both
groups gladly regarded themselves as his kinsmen. For both
he was a very prominent kinsman to whom they preferred to
turn with requests for help and at whose festivals they liked to
[361] make their appearance. The kampong Parang Banua, where
the new head lived in the beginning, is separated from the rest
of the adat community by the Djene'berang River. It was
somewhat inaccessible. At the urging of the administration,
the head moved with a number of followers and kinsmen from
Parang Banua to kampong Borongkaluku, bordering on
Borongrappo. Others followed him later.

Now, about 30 years later, the adat community head with
a certain pride referred to all the residents of the three
kampongs, Borongkaluku, Borongrappo, and Parang Banua,
as his kinsmen. He permitted his children to marry kinsmen
from at least two of these groups.

571 A number of marriages have been contracted in the course
612 of the years between the Borongrappo and Borongkaluku groups
of relatives. There is regular contact between the two. A
number of houses belonging to people of Borongkaluku have
already been built close to those of Borongrappo. An integrated
related group, however, has not developed. The fact that the
[778] Borongrappo group kept its own ornament is probably one of the
most important reasons for this circumstance.

The group at Borongkaluku, which initially formed a unit
with that of Parang Banua, tends to form a separate group around
the adat community head. The tendency toward separation
is increased by the difficulty of communication across the
Djene'berang River. There are also signs that the maintenance
of existing ties is valued. The regular contracting of
marriages between the two is an example of this. The tie
[764] with the dead is another. A number of people who died were

571 /73 cont./ buried in Borongkaluku. But the adat community
612 head who is of advanced age has already stated that he wants
to be buried in Parang Banua, close to the place where his
764 parents and uncles likewise lie buried.

An Ornament In Statu Nascendi

532 There is a small, crudely carved wooden image approxi-
778 mately 25 centimeters high wrapped in a dirty white cloth
in the pantasa' of the house belonging to the Kapala of /74/
612 Bontoromba. The father of the present-day Kapala had
669 carved this himself and given it ot his son, who told me about it. It was shown to me with a certain reverence, but nevertheless also with a certain shyness. There was no sign of its being worshipped by the kinsmen of the Kapala. No tomanurung myth was connected with it. What is the significance of this little image which is kept in such an important place?

It has already been pointed out that the Kapala group is a young but already well-integrated group of relatives. The tie with Pakatto is present, but it is weak.

114 Kooreman has pointed out that the assumption of conquest as one of the most important causes for the formation of kingdoms is irreconcileable with their federal administration (1). He believed instead that this cause lies in a voluntary act of joining the federation and submission to the authority of a tomanurung. "One should not imagine that the time of the Tomanoeroengs is past, " he wrote in 1883 (2).

---

1. See Kooreman, op. cit., p. 194.

2. See Kooreman, op. cit., p. 193.

532 /74 cont./ After the subjection of the princes of South
778 Celebes in 1905, this period of the tomanurung had passed,
612 however. Tomanurung were thought to deceive and to disturb
669 the peace. They were no longer given an opportunity to
create a federation. In spite of this, however, the belief in
the tomanurung did not disappear.

It may be that the Kapala of Bontoramba counts on the possibility of a tomanurung appearing who will unite his presently well-integrated group with a number of neighboring groups into a federation. The group from which the ornament of the federation is derived will, as a matter of course, have the leadership. The Kapala is prepared for this. The image is, as it were, an ornament in statu nascendi /in the nascent state/.

The Sacred Spot of Borongloë

778 A five-minute walk from the head's house leads to a
773 grove, the so-called "Flat Rock, " (batu lappara') of
Borongloë (3). On it /75/ stood, according to the myth, the
ancestral couple of the present-day head's group of relatives, at the moment when they made their final statements to the people prior to ascending to heaven (1).

---

[103] 3. Many call the rock batu napara', which according to Matthes' dictionary (p. 635) means "a smooth rock with the bottom part in the water; a rock that is stretched out flat."

1. Friedericy relates this myth in his own words in his dissertation. See there, pp. 506 ff.

346 778 /75 cont./ In 1939, when I came to Borongloë for the first time, a dilapidated little hut had been built over this rock. Around the same time attention seems to have been drawn to this "rock worship" by the Muhammadijah Association. Shortly after this, people of Borongloë, under the leadership of the head of the adat community and the old Imam, constructed a new cottage.

The rock is flat on top. Viewed from above, the greatest length amounts to about 60 centimeters and the greatest width to about 40 centimeters. Everywhere it is from 2 to 3 centimeters above the ground. At the time of the reconstruction, a pointed rock was placed at opposite sides of the flat rock along the extension of the longitudinal axis, at a distance from each other of approximately 80 centimeters. Each of these two rocks jutted about 15 centimeters out of the ground. In combination with the rock, they make an impression of eroded mesas on the visitor. Questioned about this, the head stated that a grave existed here although he was unable to state with certainty whose grave it was.

[769 178] The purpose of placing the two rocks seems clear. Externally, the rock worship gave way to grave worship. The demands of modern times had therefore been met by doing as they did.

634 778 At the climax of their inauguration festival, the two last adat community heads of Borongloë stood on this rock. There they took the oaths of loyalty (*aru*) of a number of their *kapala* and followers.

346 778 Right by the rock a little house (*saukang*) has been built. It stands on posts. The floor forms a rectangle of 1.0 by 1.5 meters; the walls consist of transparent braided bamboo. A fifth post is stuck in the middle of the floor, going right through it and rising about 30 centimeters above the floor. This is called the lopped-off house post (*benteng polong*). Rock and *saukang* belong together. Whenever offerings are [782] made there, a *parappo* is placed /76/ both by the lopped-off house post as well as by the flat rock (1).

782/76 cont./ 1. If the ritual is initiated by the related group belonging to the head of the adat community, the basic number of the *parappo* in the *saukang* is seven, and that of the other is nine.

634 At this spot the ornament of Borongloë, the flag, was
778 unfurled and displayed to the people upon the occasion of the
inauguration festival of the new adat community head. The
[241 annual great harvest festival of Borongloë also takes place
796] here.

Borongloë has its own ornament sawah, which is probably
241 of less importance for the ritual than is the case elsewhere.
634 In other adat communities or in kingdoms, the ornament
778 sawah is the first one in the community to be plowed, with
extra ritual each year. Only after this has taken place is it
permitted to work the other sawahs located in this community.
Up to this date, it is said elsewhere, redeeming of a mortgaged
sawah is also permitted. Whoever comes after that must
wait till after the following harvest.

794 A summary of the above yields the following result:
602 By worship community we understand a group of people
182 who take part in the same ancestral ritual.

Each individual has his own ancestors. Relatives have common ancestors. Relatives therefore may participate in each other's ritual.

Where no ornament is present, several worship communities are always to be found within a group of relatives. Their boundaries are vague. An individual may participate in the ritual in several communities. A worship community groups itself around an individual who occupies a prominent position in the group of relatives by virtue of his personal

794 /*76 cont.*/ qualities. After this person's death the grouping
602 again breaks up. The members then affiliate themselves with
182 others, each according to his own choice. There is no
continuity.

Between the prominent members of a group of relatives there always exists a relationship of opposition, which is only intensified by the worship communities. There exists no possibility for such a related group to present a durable and powerful unity to the outside world.

A group of relatives with an ornament is more strongly integrated. /*77*/ Where there is an ornament, a worship community can be found which comprises a number of people in addition to the related group. The size of this community, however, cannot be precisely indicated.

It is therefore uncertain who constitute the worship community of an ornament. Nooteboom's definition of an ornament, given above, could therefore be simplified. An ornament is an object which is worshipped by a community of individuals.

182 In addition to this worship community, there are a num-
794 ber of extremely weak and small worship communities in a
778 group of relatives. They comprise no more than one or
602 several households. Their members turn to their ancestors in
their own *pantasa'* for family or household affairs. In addition, they can also always turn to the ancestors who are worshipped at the ornament.

644 Ornaments are also in the hands of ordinary kampong
182 people. The royal ornaments are therefore not "inherent to
778 the royal dignity" (1).

1. See Friedericy, *op. cit.*, p. 501.

Neither is royal dignity "exclusively reserved for those who are of purest blood" (1). In that case the principle of

/77 cont./ 1. *Ibid.*

644
778
182 descent would dominate completely, and that is not the case.

An ornament is supposed to be in the hands of the group member with the purest blood and the best personal qualities. The individual who has the ornament in his possession is therefore believed to have these qualities until it turns out to be otherwise.

One who shows that he possesses the best personal qualities is therefore, according to the Makassarese idea, of high blood.

A prince is regarded as possessing these personal qualities to the greatest degree. However, they do not always find expression.

182 An ornament strengthens the unity of the group. At the same time it furthers the continuity of this unity. But a breakthrough on the basis of personal qualities must always be considered a possibility, in the light of what has been said above.

/78/

Chapter II

Social Status

114
565 In the ethnological literature Makassarese-Buginese society is known as a hierarchical society. Friedericy (1) decided

---

1. H.J. Friedericy,
"De standen bij de
Boeginezen en Makassaren, "
*Bijdragen tot de Taal-,
Land- en Volkenkunde van
Nederlands-Indië*, 1933,
Part 90, Vol. 4, p. 582.

114 /78 cont./ upon a division into two classes /standen/, the
565 nobility and the people. In addition he reported the existence of intermediary classes, that of headmen and slaves. The groups of relatives from which this society is constructed remain in the background with Friedericy. Proceeding from what is already known here, the relationship of kinship and class will first be indicated at this point. A few introductory comments will precede this.

635
565 All Makassarese-Buginese land, as has been mentioned, is divided into provinces. The prince who stands at the head of a province belongs to a bilateral group of relatives which constitutes a class /stand/ apart, the nobility. The members of this group are called karaëng. They primarily live together in a few kampongs bordering on each other and constitute a well-integrated group. They are distinguished from the other groups of relatives residing in their province by virtue of the fact that their common descent is, according to general opinion, higher than that of the other groups. Among other things, this opinion finds expression in the forms of social intercourse with those lower, the people, which is indicated by the term tau samara' (literally, "ordinary people").

565 It is not possible to say that the nobility is distinguished from the lower groups of relatives through a certain ritual or through any other special characteristic (2), for all groups of relatives distinguish themselves from others around them through such a specialty. Each group of relatives is quite conscious of this, and the members actually boast of it. One can state that the karaëng group possesses more of these special characteristics than the other groups, that in some cases it forbids the use of these special characteristics to members of

---

2. For the term "specialities" /cited in English/, see R. Linton, The Study of Man, pp. 272 ff.

565 /78 cont./ the other groups, and that it has the power to enforce this prohibition /79/ The special characteristics of the nobility serve as class prerogatives.

Among the lower /people/, this rarely gives rise to difficulties because in the majority of cases no one values the idea of taking over a special characteristic from just any other group.

565 582 The noble groups of relatives which live in the respective provinces are, like the nonnoble ones, not completely endogamous. Marriages between members of these groups who therefore live in two or more different provinces occur regularly. In this respect the noble related group acts like the lower ones.

114 565 The prince's group of relatives constitutes a well-integrated group whose efforts within the province is directed at maintaining the existing balance of power. Friedericy gathered his material among the nobility. His description of the organization of the classes is in many respects the picture which one obtains of the society if one views it through the eyes of the nobility. He thus places great emphasis upon the characteristics which distinguish the nobility from the other groups, and upon the "intermediary classes" with terms applying to them. One of these terms is *ana' tjera'*. Among the nobility this designates a child of the marriage between a man of the nobility and a woman from the people.

565 602 Among the nobility class and kinship coincide to a great extent. A commoner can only be admitted into the nobility by way of kinship, that is to say, by marrying into the nobility. Such a marriage, however, does not immediately lead to complete admittance. Terms such as *ana' tjera'* regulate this. Admittance is accomplished only after several generations. These terms are therefore only in use among the highest class. They have a negative emotional quality. These terms are never heard among the people. To them a child of a mixed marriage is someone of noble blood, even after two or three generations. Such a person has standing just through "blood" alone.

565 /79 cont./ Members of the lower groups of relatives, who,
554 viewed from the standpoint of the nobility, form a single whole, are themselves not conscious of their unity. Each Makassarese regards his own group of relatives as higher than those around it. He always wants to /80/ raise himself above a group around him that is regarded as equally high.. In all groups of relatives there is a constant striving to rise higher, without this being fixed in a social hierarchy. The groups are therefore always in a relationship of opposition toward each other. Each group, on the one hand, tries to prevail over the other and, on the other hand, tries to avoid being dominated by the other.

Neither do these groups form a "social class" /cited in English/ in the sense that Ogburn and Nimkoff attach to that expression. Of the "common people" it is not always possible to say that they "meet on equal terms" /cited in English/ or that they have "essentially the same social status" /cited in English/ (1). One can therefore never say in advance whether two individuals may marry each other, because that would imply a certain equality. At the least it means that the man is not lower than his future wife. The uncertainty concerning the "/social/ class" of each individual is clear.

If, as a stranger, one asks someone from these groups to what class he belongs, he becomes embarrassed. He does not think of the possibility that the interrogator intends to distinguish him from the nobility, and as far as his environment is concerned, he is unable to indicate any class because there exists no social hierarchy with established class characteristics. He can merely indicate his /social/ class approximately by pointing

---

1. W. F. Ogburn and M. F. Nimkoff, A Handbook of Sociology, London, 1947, pp. 210 ff.

565 /80 cont./ to his group of relatives. In so doing, however,
554 nothing has as yet been said about the possibility of a future marriage. This depends further on his personal qualities and finally on the evaluation of his position at a certain moment. A person's /social/ class is no more than the possibility of contracting a certain marriage at a certain moment.

114 Friedericy has added an explanation of their origin to his
174 description of the social classes and their mutual relationships.
555 He thought that it was possible to indicate that the class organization arose from an exogamous fraternal grouping. His theory was first presented by de Josselin de Jong. The latter was able to indicate such a structural change among the
000 Natchez; classes there developed out of clans (2).

2. J.P.B. Josselin de Jong, "The Natchez Social System" /cited in English/, Proceedings of the Twenty-third International Congress of Americanists, September, 1928, pp. 553 ff.

Ideas concerning the origin of social classes have changed little since then./81/ Van Heek (1), as the last one, in

1. F. van Heek, Klassen- en standenstructuur als sociologische begrippen /Class and Status Structure as Sociological Concepts/, Inaugural Address, Leiden, 1948, p. 7.

1948 states concerning this: "To the extent that in primitive societies the groups increase in size, come into greater contact

000 /81 cont./ with each other, become more complicated in their organizational forms, and their accumulated stores of goods become larger, their internal hierarchic articulation begins to stand out more clearly."

Larger numbers in themselves do not necessarily bring about structural changes, however, and it is just these that interest us. The problem of the formation of a class structure in essence remains untouched here.

114 174 565 The arguments adopted by Friedericy for his theory from an analysis of Makassarese culture do not appear convincing to me. His theory and my objections to it will therefore be briefly taken up at this point (2).

2. H.J. Friedericy, "De standen bij de Boeginezen en Makassaren," *Bijdragen*, 1933, Vol. IV, p. 90.

On the basis of an analysis of the creation myth, Friedericy assumed that at an earlier stage in the development of society a fraternal division must have existed. Now, in order to make the idea of the origin of the present-day society from the mythical organization acceptable, he mentions a number of characteristics which both have in common: "A bipartite structure, superiority of one group over the other, patrilocality after marriage, the nonlocalized character of the groups -- all these things the two organizations have in common. Moreover, where initially we believed a great difference to exist, we have found upon closer examination clear indications in the present society of former exogamy of the two groups as well as of matrilineal descent" (3).

3. H.J. Friedericy, *Ibid.*, p. 599.

114 /81 cont./ As clear indication of matrilineal descent he
174 then mentions the apportionment of the children in case of
565 divorce, according to which the woman was to receive all
586 even, and the man all uneven, children. Nowhere did I ever
observe any signs of such an apportionment, even though I
purposely made inquiries concerning this in several places (4).

4. In addition to Goa: in Takalala, Takalar, Tjamba, and Watampone.

In the second place, Friedericy mentions the "notes in
the diary of the princes of Goa and Tello": "The decree
existing among us /82/ stating that the fathers have no share in
the children was abolished by Toewammenang-ri-Djoentana
[567] (Karaëng-Karoenroeng)." Before the war the government
linguist in South Celebes, Dr. A. A. Cense, had already drawn
my attention to the fact that this statement refers to slaves.
As an argument in this connection, therefore, the statement
loses its force.

114 Furthermore, Friedericy mentions as a clear indication of
174 earlier exogamy the phenomenon of hypergamy in South Celebes.
565 Hypergamy, however, is such a widespread phenomenon that,
582 simply taken as such, it does not seem correct to me to use it
here as an argument for an earlier exogamy.

114 Of the four common characteristics, the mention of
174 patrilocal marriage must be based upon a misunderstanding.
565 My figures indicated that the situation was otherwise (1).
[591]

1. See above, p. 42.

Correspondence of the present-day organization with the mythical, which would be based upon a bipartite structure, superiority of the one group to the other, and the nonlocalization of the groups, I do not consider to be a strong enough basis for

114 /82 cont./ deriving the origin of the present-day classes from
174 an exogamous kinship grouping.

565 The origin of the classes in South Celebes is beyond
historical observation. The tendency toward a vertical articulation is present. How the present-day social hierarchy of karaëng and non-karaëng, of the nobility and the people, came into existence, is not clear.

128 The connection established by Friedericy between class and
565 kinship will now have to be worked out in greater detail. As
554 much as possible, the term "class" /stand/ (2) will be used in this context to indicate the relationship of the nobility to the people, and the terms "level" /hoogte/ or "standing" /aanzien/ for the differences obtaining among the people. The transitions, however, are so fluid that this will not always be feasible.

182 It has been stated above, that social status in South Celebes
554 signifies in the first place the possibility to marry. A marriage
582 is an expression of status relationships obtaining at that moment.
Status and kinship touch upon each other in marriage. The marriage policy of the elders and the bride price are two elements which must be discussed. /83/

Marriage Policy

554 The striving of individuals is directed toward a rise in standing. This striving is expressed, among other things, in acquiring wealth (land, livestock, ornaments), in defeating others during fighting or skirmishing, in outdoing them in each personal contact, and in adopting outward forms of higher people. This striving is crowned in the marriage of one's
[581] children because this establishes the standing gained by one personally, within the bounds set by descent.

---

2. F. van Heek, op. cit., p. 7.

557 /83 cont./ A certain equality of marriage partners is
581 assumed. One who has gone up in standing through personal
qualities and who on the basis of this is able to marry off one
of his children to a member of a group that is actually regarded
as a little higher has attained the highest goal. It becomes
apparent to everyone that through this marriage he has risen
in standing. The standing that he has thus built up is, as it
were, fixed by this circumstance. In a later social evaluation
of his children, his achievement is used as a basis of judgment.
His kinsmen honor in him the man who has raised the standing
of their group, for as kinsmen they are, and remain in principle,
his equals and thus rise with him. Compared with other
[585] festivals of the Makassarese, wedding feasts are the most
valuable in view of the economic capacity of the group.
More than any others, they are the gauge of social standing.

584 The choice of a marriage partner is an affair which cannot
557 be left to the young people themselves. It is a matter for the
elders and, preferably, the prominent elders of the group of
relatives. They look for what they consider the best solution;
they weigh and balance the possibilities, and through their
collaboration the marriages finally come about. In all this,
a certain marriage policy is apparent.

557 In the marriage policy of the elders, two opposing
tendencies are to be found. On the one hand, there exists
581 the striving for a closely cohesive related group whose members
612 marry each other as much as is possible. On the other hand,
there is the striving to establish relations with members of other
groups of relatives, preferably those who rank just a little higher.
A successful policy is achieved by the person who is able to
realize his aim in both directions and who, at the same time,
/84/ is able to bring about harmony between the two. Those
who constitute the average in the group of relatives as regards
their social standing, soon satisfy themselves with the first-
mentioned aim. The prominent members of the group tend,
rather, to direct their interests outside their own group.

557 /84 cont./ The marriage policy of the elders is, therefore,
581 to be regarded as a part of their striving toward raising the
612 standing of the group. As an example we shall here give the policy conducted by the adat community head of Borongloë in bringing about the seven marriages of his children solemnized between 1938 and 1948. The marriage policy is never formulated in this form. Those who conduct it are not conscious of it. They merely do what seems best to them in given circumstances.

The adat community head himself was married to a daughter of the head of a neighboring adat community, situated outside the kingdom of Goa. His eldest son was the first to be married, to a girl from this group of relatives, a sixth-degree cousin. The already existing tie with his wife's kin group was thereby strengthened.

His second son was married to the daughter of a well-known tradesman, a hadji, from Macassar, a business contact and at the same time an old friend with whom he had made an agreement at an early age to have their children marry later. When this marriage appeared to be rather unsuccessful after a number of years, it was dissolved. A new marriage was subsequently contracted with the daughter of the head of a neighboring adat community. In this case a member of the Self-government of Goa gave his cooperation.

The third son, who was employed as a provincial official in Buginese country, married there after his own choice. Such an alternative will be described later.

The fourth, as a favor to his father, had been taken, as a young man into his house by a member of the Self-government of the kingdom of Goa, who had subsequently arranged a marriage with the daughter of one of his other favorites, a wealthy Buginese merchant. The father had, in effect, given this son to the member of the Goa Self-government. He had no further influence on the latter's choice of a marriage partner.

557 /84 cont./ The fifth child, a girl, married her eighth-
581 /85/ degree cousin, a grandson of the old Imam of Borongloë.
612 In so doing, the kin-group tie with the first religious official
of the adat community was established on a firmer basis.

The members of the adat community head's widespread group of relatives reside in almost three kampong territories. The sixth child, again a son, married the daughter of the head of one of these kampongs. In this case the adat community head and the kampong head were first cousins.

Finally, the seventh child, a girl, married one of her sixth-degree cousins residing in one of these other kampongs.

584 On the basis of this example, a number of comments can be made.

612 1. The adat community head, the father, was in this case the central figure who brought about the various marriages of his children. But this is not necessarily always so. If one witnesses several weddings successively in various houses of the same kampong and in one and the same related group, one will be struck by the fact that in each case the same elders are instrumental in arranging all details of the ceremonies. The parent concerned is consulted, but the actual leadership is in the hands of others. The same seems to be the case, if one investigates who brought the marriage partners together. The matter, to be sure, is discussed with the children's own parents, but it is of such importance to the related group that it cannot simply be left to them. If they make suggestions, these are taken into account. If they come to talk, they are given advice. But if they do nothing, other prominent members of the group take the initiative.

584 2. Just as the marriage of the fourth son was organized,
565 regulated, and paid for by a member of the high nobility, the adat community head in his turn likewise brought about a large number of marriages of his subordinates in the course of the years, sometimes after they had made their preference apparent to him, sometimes on his own initiative (1).

584 /85 cont./ 1. At one count, he arrived
565 at 18, not counting the
marriages of his own children.

In so doing, the existing tie between high and low is greatly strengthened. The person who has brought about one's marriage /86/ is never forgotten. Such a marriage ceremony is on a much smaller scale than the higher person would have for his own child; nevertheless, it is always more expensive than it would have been had it been given by the kinsmen of the marriage partners themselves. Hence, the lower person
[554] receives as festive wear, for instance, a headdress of a certain color or a kris of a certain type, to which he actually has no right, but whose use is granted for the occasion by the higher person. As a result his standing rises.

3. From this example it appears further that the general
554 notion that all kinsmen should be each other's equals is incorrect.
602 It is clear that the adat community head, who is a prominent
582 man in his group, insofar as he chooses them from among his kinsmen, favors children of other prominent members of his group as spouses for his children. Accordingly, a tendency toward endogamy exists among the prominent members of the related group. Furthermore, even among kinsmen such great differences in standing may exist that a marriage bond is regarded as undesirable by one of the parties.

The conflict of these tendencies becomes most clearly apparent in a well-integrated related group through the marriage policies of its prominent members. For the ordinary members this conflict is less urgent. They find sufficient possibilities for marriage within the group.

The Bride Price (sunrang)

554 For a Makassarese, the marriage of his child is an extreme-
585 ly important event because it demonstrates the standing that

554 /86 cont./ he has built up in his life. The more days and
585 nights the festival lasts, the more guests (largely kinsmen)
present, the more buffaloes slaughtered, and the more spacious
the pannjambungi (the extension built onto the front of the
house for this occasion), the higher is his standing. But the
[583] bride price, sunrang, is the element of marriage which permits
the clearest measurable evaluation.

The sunrang is not simply handed over to the wife's kin
583 group by the man and his kin group. It is present at the contracting of the marriage (nikka'). The marriage official
records the amount in the marriage register in reals (1), an
old species of coin which has long disappeared from /87/
circulation. The woman's kin group frequently demands that
the sunrang be paid entirely in specie (rix-dollars or guldens),
but usually this happens only in part. The balance is paid by
giving a sawah or a buffalo. As a symbol of such a transaction,
a handful of earth (from the sawah) or a nose ring (of the
[415] buffalo) is added to the specie, which is contained in a flat,
round copper box (kampu), used only at a marriage. The
kampu also contains various kinds of leaves and a piece of wood,
whose names signify "high," "rich," "rising," and "expanding."
That is what one wishes for the sunrang and, at the same time,
for the woman's group of relatives, the best possible wish.

[435] 1. A real was, and still is, valued at 2 guldens. The coin itself, the real, is not seen at these payments. It became too rare for that.

[659] The sunrang cannot be just any amount; it is always an
even figure. It is fixed by the local authorities, in this case,
the Self-government of Goa. In part it is linked to a specific
status (ordinary people), in part to a certain function (the adat

583 /87 cont./ community head), and in part to kin relationship (kinsmen of the adat community head). By juggling these unequal amounts, it is possible to obtain a higher sunrang according to one rule than one is entitled to according to another.

The amount of the sunrang is in principle linked to the
554 level of the woman's group of relatives.. Her standing and that
583 of her group is made known by the sunrang paid at her wedding. It is therefore important for her kinsmen that she command as high a sunrang as possible. On the other hand, for the man's kinsmen it is just as important to pay a high sunrang on the basis of the principle that in effect man and wife are equal in standing. It is therefore comprehensible that the sunrang has a tendency to rise.

554 In his kingdom, the prince is the highest. He, and with
565 him his kinsmen of the same blood, should therefore have the
583 highest sunrang within that kingdom. As a result he is concerned that the sunrang in his region be clearly established according to
[643] rank and status, and known to everyone, so that his subjects will not pay or receive a higher sunrang /88/ than he himself. Hence, one repeatedly encounters prescriptions concerning the amount of the sunrang in lontar. Nature, however, seems to be stronger than rules. There always arises, some time after the amount has been officially established, the tendency to surpass the prescribed limits. Rules are only too gladly forgotten. As time goes on, more and more people seem to have paid and received a sunrang that was higher than they were permitted. Consequently, a new sunrang edict must be issued periodically. The last such regulation in the kingdom of Goa dates back to 1940. This sets the sunrang for

kinsmen of the Prince	at 28 reals
for the adat community head	at 26 reals
for the latter's kinsmen	at 24 reals
for ordinary people	at 20 reals
for slaves belonging to the Prince	at 12 reals.

554 /88 cont./ It is interesting to see how this regulation was applied in practice. To this end, I examined the marriage
565 registers of the adat community of Borongloë for 1946 and 1947
583 to trace the reasons that led to the establishment of a sunrang of 26, 24, or 22 (!) reals, where the parties seemed to have a right only to 24 and 20 reals, respectively. The result is as follows:

The sunrang of 26 reals, according to the regulation covering only the adat community head, was first paid on the occasion of the marriage between two descendants of the former head of the adat community of Bonto. Karaëng Bonto was, as recently as the beginning of this century, the head of a small, but more or less independent, adat community which subsequently became amalgamated with Borongloë. His descendants still have something of his standing. At present they live in Borongloë territory and therefore are unable to get a higher sunrang than the adat community head. Here it seems that they were permitted an equal sunrang. A sunrang of 26 reals was further paid at the wedding of a first cousin of the adat community head to the daughter of one of the head's followers of good standing. Twenty-four reals should have been the maximum here.

A sunrang of 24 reals, designated according to the particular regulation for kinsmen of the adat community head, was likewise paid, first, at the wedding of a daughter of one of the /89/ followers of this head, secondly, at the wedding of a sister of one of the kampong heads, thirdly, at the wedding of the daughter of a follower of a descendant of Karaëng Bonto, and fourthly, at a wedding between Buginese residing in Borongloë. The latter, to explain the fact that they wanted to see a sunrang of 24 reals registered, declared that in their own homeland they were entitled to a sunrang (Buginese: sompa) of 44 reals. A sunrang of 22 reals was finally conceded to a couple of strangers who declared that they received a sunrang higher than 20 reals in their own land.

583 /89 cont./ If one wants to obtain a general view of the amount of sunrang paid in the course of one year, the following figures will serve that purpose. In Borongloë (a good 14,000 inhabitants), the Imam, charged with keeping the marriage registers, had to record 107 marriages between July 1, 1948 and July 1, 1949. Of these, the sunrang amounted:

in 2 cases to 26 reals
in 24 cases to 24 reals
in 2 cases to 22 reals
in 77 cases to 20 reals
in 1 case to 12 reals
in 1 case to 5.00 guldens.

563 583 The amount of 5.00 guldens was registered at a marriage between Javanese who were part of a group of approximately 200, living together in kampong Pakatto. This low sunrang, for the Makassarese regard the amount as such, is one of the reasons why the latter are inclined to regard the Javanese as people of the very lowest status.

567 583 The sunrang of 12 reals was paid to the father of a woman who was regarded as a slave of the adat community head.

565 583 602 Nine of these 107 marriages were contracted between individuals from the kampong Bontoramba. In seven of these nine cases, the sunrang was not 20 but 24 reals, and in only two cases was it 20 reals. This situation which, if one considers the total number of marriages for which 24 and 20 reals were paid respectively, is very unusual and can only be partly interpreted. For each of the seven cases the people were able to give a certain reason. These follow here.

/90/ Both a son as well as a daughter of the Kapala of Bontoramba were married in this year. For both a sunrang of 24 reals was regarded as appropriate. In the case of one couple, the mother of the wife had Buginese kinsmen among whom, in their own country, a much higher sunrang than that of 20 reals was always paid. In the case of another couple, the woman was regarded as related to the adat community head; "she was not equal" (tena nasangkamma), said the Imam, and therefore

565 583 602 /*90 cont.*/ she was not allowed to receive 26 reals (!), but this kin relationship was nevertheless sufficient to raise her above the normal 20 reals. In the fifth case, the man was a kinsman of the Imam himself. It was an act of friendliness on the part of the bridegroom's kinsmen to offer the bride, who actually was regarded as lower, the *sunrang* customary in his group, because, in so doing, they showed that they accepted her completely as an equal (*sunranna bura'ne naerang*). In the sixth case, kin relationship with the ex-*kapala* of an adjoining kampong (Buttadidi) was given as the reason why 24 reals were paid, and in the last case, an aunt of the girl declared that a *sunrang* of 24 reals had always been customary in her kin group. The curious thing in this case was that this aunt herself had contracted a marriage by flight with a man who was regarded by her kinsmen as so much lower that they had never been willing to agree to a reconciliation (1).

With the exception of this last-mentioned case, the first six marriages involved individuals of the Kapala group. It is not impossible that the marriage ties established by the Kapala with the kin group of the adat community head (2) constituted a reason for the Imam to record a *sunrang* of 24 reals in a number of cases for the kinsmen of this Kapala, against which he would have had objections in other cases. Finally, the adat community head is the one who must guard against the *sunrang*

---

1. For further elaboration of this case, see Chapter III, third part.

2. A daughter of the Kapala married a *kamanakang* (French: *neveu* /nephew/) of the adat community head.

565 /90 cont./ of his subjects approaching too closely his and
583 that of his kinsmen. The differences must continue to exist.
602 Everyone is convinced of this.

A number of observations can be made in relation to these
554 data.

583 1. It appears that in stating the reasons why /91/ a certain sunrang is paid at a certain wedding, the primary consideration concerns the woman. "The sunrang of the woman may never go down," it is often said. This means that the sunrang of a girl may never be lower than that which was paid for her mother. At the wedding of a woman to a lower man -- the exceptional case will be discussed below -- the latter always pays the sunrang of the woman. In addition, he makes a large number of other extra payments. In the case of the marriage of a man to a lower woman, the man's party likewise frequently pays the sunrang that is customary in the woman's group. Sometimes, however, the man wants it to be apparent that he is very favorably inclined towards his in-laws, and then he pays the sunrang customary in his own group, but this is a favor on his part. In the ordinary case, that is to say, at a wedding between two people who are regarded as equals in standing, the woman is, as it were, the gauge of value of her group. Her sunrang must not go down because her standing, which finds its most important expression in the sunrang, must not go down thereby, since this would lower, in turn the standing of her group of relatives.

554
557
602
583
2. Being a follower (1) appears to be a reason for raising the sunrang above the level of the group to which this follower belongs, another example showing that being a follower raises a person's standing.

554
583
[622]
3. The office of kampong head appears to be a reason for receiving a higher sunrang for one's sister and daughter.

---

1. See pp. 133 ff.

554 /91 cont./ The same can be said of the imam's office. The
583 Imam of Borongloë, who furnished information concerning the
amount of the *sunrang*, explained several times that in a certain
case a higher *sunrang* had been paid than was prescribed because
the woman in question was related to him. This illustrates the
[602] advantage of kinship, for the woman was honored by the Imam
with a higher *sunrang* than would otherwise have been possible.
He would not have been able to refuse the request to record a
higher *sunrang* without being accused of snobbery, for this
would have shown that he no longer wanted to recognize his
kinsmen as equals and thus no longer as kinsmen. /92/

563 583 631 4. The *sunrang* appears to be locally bound. Buginese who have a regulation in their own country by which a much higher *sunrang* is paid have to submit to the local regulations. It is a public secret that actually they frequently pay their own *sunrang* of 44 reals but that in the registers an amount of 24 (22 or 20) reals is recorded. The marriage official knows about this and silently acquiesces. Officially there is no violation of the principle that the head of a certain territory is entitled to the highest *sunrang*.

554 583 659 5. It is necessary to be acquainted with the period when the regulation was issued (1940) in order to understand how it is possible that in spite of the existing regulation a higher *sunrang* was paid for a sister of the adat community head than by the head himself. For the sister, who married in 1939 (before the new **regulation** came out), a *sunrang* of 28 reals was received, but when this head himself married fully a year later (after the new regulation), he was not allowed to pay more than 26 reals. There was no getting around the recent prescription issued by the Prince. Considering this situation, the somewhat annoyed remark of this head that in future he would take good care that no one received more than 26 reals was quite understandable.

554 583 602 6. The *sunrang* is not always equal even for people who are kinsmen. A little leeway is possible, and it is just this

554 /*92* *cont.*/ leeway which opens up the opportunity for indicating
583 nuances, so important to the Makassarese. Even among kinsmen
602 differences of /social/ level exist. "*Manna samposikali kapattauanga sisala*" ("even though they are first cousins, their status is different"), is said of the children of a pair of brothers who married women of different status, or of the children of a pair of half-brothers who had the same father but mothers of different blood. In such cases conflict cannot be avoided.
554 When a son of the lower of the two women made a request on
581 behalf of his son to his half-brother, regarding the latter's
584 daughter, he was refused. The girl's mother gave as the reason
578 the fact that she had nursed her aspirant son-in-law. Considering
602 the existing kin relationship, this may very well be possible, but it did not prevent the other party from being angry because the real reasons for the refusal were very well understood.

Descent and personal qualities within the /*93*/ group of
554 relatives lead to an endogamy of the prominent members of
578 this group. Within the circle of kinsmen, the marriage
602 candidates are therefore also limited. This fact is not admitted to others; instead the emphasis is then just placed upon the large number of kinsmen and upon their -- in principle -- mutual equality. The striving to rise, which entails a certain striving for exclusiveness, is not readily mentioned. The other kinsmen who in their striving to rise apparently remained behind accuse the individual who assumes airs of exclusiveness that he no longer wants to recognize his kin group, and everybody gives way to this. One of the things which the kinsmen of a woman who marries a higher man appreciate most in her is that she continues to visit and receive her kinsmen without showing superiority.

582 A certain secrecy is always maintained concerning marriage
583 possibilities. In investigating the amount of the *sunrang*,
557 information is given only hesitantly (1). These two experiences
602

582
583
557
602

/93 cont./ 1. Not, if one asks this information of the Prince. He gives the list as it is fixed by him. But lower people are less positive.

can only be understood on the basis of the conflict of tendencies indicated above. The amount of the sunrang is never completely fixed. A small increase is always possible, so people do not like to be rigid about certain marriage possibilities within the group of relatives. There are, to be sure, always kinsmen with whom a closer tie is not desired at that moment. 554 Where people proudly point to their extensive kin group, this does not signify mutual equality of the members, but it is a sign of social standing, and people do like to talk about that.

In the previous chapter it became apparent that marriages 582 between kinsmen of the eighth degree occur regularly, and 602 those between relatives of the tenth degree, very rarely. There is, therefore, a point at which the knowledge of the kin relationship has disappeared, namely, when for three successive generations no marriages have been contracted between the descendants of two brothers and/or sisters. If this fact is considered in relation to the preference for endogamy among the prominently placed kinsmen, then one can see how it is possible that some gradually drop from the circle of those known as kinsmen, through the lack of desired personal qualities or through a poorly executed marriage policy. /94/ If someone likes a kinsman of the sixth degree, and both of them allow their children to marry, this ties remote lines together, and the striving for a cohesive group of kinsmen has then been realized. But if such a marriage (between eighth-degree male and female cousins) does not come about, this means that a small number of individuals come to be separated from this large group and ~~are either~~ absorbed into another group or else continue to lead their own life as a small group. In the

582 602 /94 cont./ last-mentioned case, we may speak of a drop in standing, even though the sunrang is maintained at its former level. If there are individuals who have become separated from a well-integrated related group, this means that they were quite unsuccessful in their striving to rise; if they had been successful, the other members of the group would have endeavored to bring about a marriage with one of them, since success attracts kinsmen as well as non-kinsmen.

Vertical Mobility of Individuals

554 562 The level of an individual is determined by his descent as well as by his personal qualities. It is believed that men should strive to rise, and that women merely should take care that they do not fall. Striving to rise is not a primary requirement for women.

554 581 A man is able to increase his standing through personal qualities. The acquired standing may be consolidated in a marriage. The outcome of all striving is, with a single exception, marriage with a woman of approximately equally high position.

554 565 582 The marriage of a man to a higher woman is strictly forbidden. The only case in which it is directly apparent that the woman is higher than the man is a marriage of a woman of the nobility to a man who is not of the nobility. The qualities in which a man must excel in order to be able to contract such a marriage are clearly stipulated.

Such qualities are given as learnedness, courage, and wealth. It is told of Sjech Jusupu, a highly venerated saint in South Celebes whose grave is always visited by crowds of people and whose life history people like to recite, that he, as an already recognized sage /95/, asked for the hand of the daughter of the Prince of Goa. The Prince would gladly have consented to this, but the members of the Royal Council (Hadat) of Goa,

554 /95 cont./ were against it. They only yielded when the
565 Prince drew their attention to the fact that in the old lontar
582 the three above-mentioned qualities are already named as
qualifications for a man to be permitted to marry a higher
woman.

In the few historical writings that I was able to consult, I did not find examples of war lords who were able to contract marriage with a higher woman on the basis of successes gained in battle.

The present-day generation is acquainted with the case of a wealthy merchant from Macassar, a hadji, who married one of the female followers of the Queen of Goa. This man was a favorite of the Prince, who followed his advice in many cases. He therefore owed his rise in standing entirely to personal qualities. In addition, the case is well known of a young man born in an ordinary kin group but employed as a tax official and very influential at the same time, who married a daughter of one of the adat community heads. The sunrang in these cases remained the same as the one that had
[583 been paid for the mother and sisters, but an exceptionally
585] large amount was asked for, and paid, to cover the expenses
of the feast. This is called the buying of blood (ammalli
tjera').

In these very rare cases, the difference in descent be-
554 tween man and wife, according to general opinion, was great.
581 But even in the more or less regularly occurring cases where
582 these differences are small, learnedness, wealth, and courage
are of importance. An imam or a revered guru ngadji (1),

1. One who instructs children in the reading of the Koran.

may contract a marriage, or he can cause his son to contract one, of a type which a brother who remained an ordinary kampong

554 /95 cont./ resident would have no chance of contracting.
581 In one of the fights that arose in Goa in 1946, a man saved a
582 number of his wife's kinsmen by his courageous behavior.
His wife should not have been allowed to marry him, because
[626] she was higher than he, and for that reason her kin group had
declared her dead (2). As a result of his bravery, the wife's

2. See Chapter III, third part.

kin group was persuaded /96/ to agree to a reconciliation. In cases where the differences in social level are small, there may be hesitation as to whether the man and woman should marry. If both parties are agreed, and the marriage is brought about, it is not possible for an outsider to disapprove. It is believed that the reasons leading to the marriage could not be evaluated (1).

1. A discussion of the cases in which there is a difference of opinion, will be found in Chapter III, third part.

554 Children from such a marriage, even where the difference
565 in level between the parents is considerable, are regarded
562 officially as equals in their mother's group of relatives,
582 because people hold fast to the idea that a woman may not
fall /in social standing/. Daughters marry by preference in their mother's group; with respect to the sons there is some hesitancy. Factual data are lacking. I was unable to discover any terms used to designate these children (analagous to ana' tjera').

In cases of marriages between a man and a lower woman, only those where the difference in level is great deserve mention, for marriages in which the man is a little higher than his wife are normal marriages. They should not be distinguished

554 /96 cont./ from marriages in which the partners are regarded
562 as equal. The marriage of a cousin (samposikali) of the adat
582 community head to the daughter of a kapalakompong /kampong
head/ is called a marriage between equals, but on the part of the head, the idea of a union of his cousin with a son of the Kapala is rejected because this young man is regarded as lower than the girl.

554 One of the princes had a son called daĕng Ali by a woman
565 from the kin group of one of the adat community heads. His
585 brother had a daughter called daĕng Batje by an ordinary
kampong woman. Daĕng Ali was regarded as considerably
574 higher than his first cousin. They married and lived with the groom's father, the Prince. Now it is expected of the kinsmen of daĕng Batje's mother, ordinary kampong people as we said, that they will be modest /97/ and that they will not constantly come to visit their sister (cousin or aunt, as the case might be). Of daĕng Batje, in turn, it is expected that she will receive these kinsmen in a friendly way; that she will not show herself proud toward them, but will entertain them nicely. She should not entertain them too lavishly, for that would be a sign of superiority, but especially not too poorly, for that would indicate that the visitors were not appreciated. For daĕng Batje the visit of her kinsmen is an agreeable matter, because people can see how the relatives appreciate her, a fact which in turn strengthens her position with respect to them. Through her, therefore, her kinsmen have a certain right to come to the palace. A couple of nieces -- the best ones are picked out for this purpose -- may temporarily come to live in the palace. There they learn the superior manners of the nobility. In so doing, they rise in standing and later have a chance of a better marriage, something which again works to the benefit of their entire group.

554 Children from a marriage of a man to a lower woman
565 are regarded as lower than their father's kinsmen and higher

554 565 /97 cont./ than those of their mother. The daughters are preferably married to someone in their father's group of relatives.

The position of the sons resulting from these marriages is difficult. By reason of their descent they are unable to marry daughters from their father's group. For a marriage they are dependent upon their mother's group. In practice, it appears [156] that they often conduct themselves as the wildest and boldest among the young men. It may well be that this conduct is unconscious in order to show themselves, at all costs, worthy of a girl of somewhat higher blood.

Karaëng call those who were born from such marriages ana'tjera' (literally, "blood children"), but the kampong people call them karaëng. The former is a denigrating term, the latter one of respect. Lower persons know people with karaëng blood who live in their kampong; the latter are regarded as slightly higher than those about them by virtue of their blood. Upon questioning, it appears, for instance, that their great-grandfather was a karaëng who married one of the women from the group of relatives residing there, that his son married a kinsman of his mother, and so on. The fact [583] that their grandfather (great-grandfather) was a karaëng is taken into account in determining the sunrang; the knowledge is kept alive.

/98/ Confusion is created if one calls the ana'tjera' an intermediate class. They do not form a related group occurring between the nobility and the people. It is merely a matter of individual cases having a tie in common with their father's group, the karaëng. They try to be taken into their father's group of relatives. Among themselves, however, they do not form an integrated group because, through the mother, they always belong to different groups of relatives. But whichever of the two groups they settle down with, their father's or their mother's, they are not regarded as equals by those around them.

554 562 565 582 /98 cont./ As regards these ana' tjera', it is immediately apparent that the interests of sons and daughters are distinct. The former are dependent for marriage upon their mother's group, the latter upon their father's group.

Vertical Mobility of Cultural Elements

565 626 Sorokin has pointed to the fact that not only individuals or groups, but even cultural elements may rise or go down (1).

1. P. Sorokin, Social Mobility, New York and London, 1927, p. 133.

Each status /stand/ /group/ has its own external characteristics by which its members are differentiated from the others. Forms of social intercourse and clothing, mode of eating and celebrating festivals are the most spectacular of these. The higher groups constantly strive to preserve their own forms for their members. Lower groups constantly strive to take over elements belonging to the members of the higher status, since by this alone their standing rises.

Attempts to adopt their ways is opposed by the higher groups. On the one hand, their adoption is regarded as ridiculous, on the other, it arouses the anger of those higher; sometimes punishment is meted out. Adoption of elements from the highest status is not carried out directly by the lowest of the people, but takes place gradually. First those just below the highest adopt their forms, and so on down. It appears that not only the higher, but sometimes even those lower resist adoption of their forms by another socially lower, that is to say, they fight against a rise in social standing by a competitor.

565 643 /98 cont./ Several characteristics are linked to the Prince's group of relatives, and as such becomes status characteristics.

/99/ The Prince speaks of his slaves (ata), but if the adat community head were to speak of his slaves in the company of a man of nobility, it would make him ridiculous. The Prince regards the use of a certain kind of spear (lallung) at the ornament ritual as prohibited to anyone except his own kin group. Difficulties have never arisen about this, for it appeared that this type of spear is frequently unknown among members of the lower groups of relatives. But difficulties did arise concerning the use of the festive drum (ganrang) which is likewise exclusively reserved for kinsmen of the Prince. It turned out that the ganrang was regularly played in secret by others, too. In many cases the Prince winked at this practice, but when, in 1941, he heard that in a certain kampong the drum had been played where, in his [534] opinion, this should not have happened, he sent out the kapala concerned to investigate. No punishment followed the misdemeanor, and no prohibition for the future. The fact that the guest who had brought the drum with him came from outside Goa was accepted as an excuse, but only in order to prevent the further difficulties that would have resulted from an actual prohibition. Playing the ganrang is a privilege of the Prince of Goa; everyone, even the stranger, must comply with that. This fact corresponds to what was reported above about the amount of the sunrang for Buginese who in their own land have a much higher bride price (sompa) than the Prince of Goa, but who place themselves under his sunrang, at least formally, while they reside inside his kingdom.

565 634 643 At his inauguration the prince of Goa stands upon the Goan investiture rock where the prescribed ritual is performed on him. There he accepts the vows of faithfulness from the great of the realm and adat community heads. The last two adat community heads of Borongloë stood on the "Flat Rock"

565 /99 cont./ of Borongloë in 1939 and 1947 respectively.
634 There the ritual was performed on them, and they received
643 the vows of faithfulness from prominent kinsmen and *kapala-kampong*. But while the princes of Goa have stood upon their rock for hundreds of years for their inauguration, this was not the case in Borongloë.

The inauguration of the father of the present-day head, which took place in 1916, /100/ was performed with ritual (*adinging dinging*) at the "Flat Rock," but he did not insist upon it, and vows of faithfulness were not made. However, when this head abdicated in 1938, he himself arranged the inaugural festival for his son, and on this occasion standing on the rock was presented as old adat. It is characteristic that
565 this adoption of a ritual element belonging to the *karaëng*
group was not repudiated by members of this group, but by a
626 few members of one of the other prominent groups of relatives
634 of Borongloë. As an old man said: "You, Gallarrang (1), did not stand on it (the stone), and now you let your son stand on it."

This way of striving to rise was therefore criticized by a member of one of the adat community's kin groups foremost in opposition. The person against whom the remark was directed, the old adat community head, later reported that shortly thereafter the old man had fallen sick and since then had never really recovered again. In his opinion this signified that what he had done was correct and that the criticism had been unjust. He believed that the ancestors would have turned against him, had they considered the ritual performed by him to be incorrect. This indicates that a prominent
[17] figure may interfere consciously in ritual matters and bring about changes.

---

1. Title of the adat community head of Borongloë.

554 565 576 /100 cont./ A favorite's daughter who temporarily resides in the house of her father's master may learn to make little cakes of a certain name and form, known only among the higher people. In that house she also learns the forms of social intercourse observed among household members and at daily meals. Upon returning home, her altered manners are immediately conspicuous. She addresses her mother only in a soft tone of voice, she does not eat as ravenously as the others, and she conducts herself completely like a well-brought up girl from the better social circles. At least in the beginning, she is also treated differently from the other children. "She bears the sign of daëng X" (2), it is said [582 557] approvingly of her. As a result, she has a chance of a better marriage, that is to say, of a marriage to a higher man than any of her sisters would be entitled to, since they did not enjoy the privilege of staying temporarily in the house of daëng X.

/101/ When the seven-year-old son of my host offered me cigarettes and when he came to tell me that dinner was ready, he briefly dropped to his knees in so doing. This is a custom completely unknown in his father's group of relatives and borrowed from the karëng's kin group in whose house the father had lived in his early years. The custom was then taught to the son. The father laughed happily; "He knows his manners," and by this he meant that his son had appropriated good manners, namely of those who are higher. It is a sign of politeness to treat a higher guest with his own forms of social intercourse. The lower person who shows that he is familiar with these forms gains in standing in so doing. If this were to become a daily practice, his conduct would be

2. Bata piarana daëng X, literally, "the etiquette of nurture by daëng X."

554 /101 cont./ thought of as ridiculous by the related group.
565 They would see in it merely an affected way of distinguishing
[576] himself from those around him.

The wearing of certain ornaments by a bride, and of a
kris or a headdress (sigara') of a certain color by the bride-
[585] groom, is frequently a sign of friendliness on the part of a
572] higher person. He may, as a favor, permit a lower person
to adorn himself on certain occasions with things which belong to the higher group. This raises the standing of the lower person.

A woman who caused her deceased mother to be treated
as though she were a relative of the Prince was regarded as
arrogant. "She is daring," was the reaction of those around
[626] her. It means that what she does is dangerous, because in so
doing she enters the state of "bassung"; that is to say, she can be punished for this deed with a swollen belly. Nobody, however, expresses his disapproval openly, since, after all, it is quite possible that what she does is exactly the right thing, and in that case the one who made the remarks would be punished, as happened in the case of standing on the investiture rock.

If a person conducts himself as a higher person, and if he does so with great self-assurance and with success, then these modes of conduct help to determine his social standing.

The System of Followers

571 The system of followers is one of the most obvious aspects
of the tendency toward vertical mobility. It may be described as the /102/ totality of relationships between a higher person (karaëng, lord) and those lower, whom he calls ana' ana'na (1) or taunna (his people). The basis of this system is the

571 /102 cont./ 1. *Ana' ana'na* literally signifys "his children, " here, therefore, "as if his children. ".

awareness that a relationship of authority of high over low, accepted by the latter, exists and likewise the realization that high and low need each other in their striving for higher standing. This relationship is based upon cooperation. The relationship between (almost) equal groups, on the other hand, is best described as opposition. The next paragraph will deal with this point.

156 554 571 In addition to descent, the personal qualities of the individual are of importance in his striving to rise. The importance of these qualities is reflected in the saying that a good *karaëng* has good followers and a bad *karaëng* bad ones. Qualities required for a higher person to be a good one are: courage in fighting and skill in debate. He must have the courage to undertake risks; he must be active and at the same time able to stimulate activity in others. In addition, a certain generosity toward those lower is indispensable. Such a dynamic character attracts those who are lower; They like to work for such a person. Qualities appreciated in a lower person worthy of mention are: faithfulness to the master; courage, in the sense of readiness to assist his master and to avenge insults inflicted upon the master; and furthermore, a certain initiative within the bounds of freedom permitted him.

114 Four essays written by the government official, Kooreman, which dealt with his experiences during a stay of almost ten years in South Celebes appeared in the *Indische Gids* of 1883. He also described the system of followers (1). Kooreman was

---

1. P. J. Kooreman, "De feitelijke toestand in het gouvernementsgebied van Celebes en Onderhoorigheden, " *Indische Gids*, 1883, pp. 375 ff.

114 /102 cont./ able to describe his impressions in a clear and lively manner. The conditions he sketches can still be recognized as typical of South Celebes, but at the same time it is apparent that much has changed. His description will first be reproduced here. Then my own data will follow, /103/ and in the process we will be able to point out a number of times what has remained and what has changed.

554 "...the higher the nobility to which one belonged, the
565 more did one possess the privilege of impunity. The little
571 man almost completely lacked protection against the presumptions and vexations of the Anakaraeng. As a result he was forced to look for protection from those who caused the evil condition, namely, the nobility. The latter undertook the protection, but conditionally, that is, the Anakaraeng demanded a certain measure of subjection of his protégé. From this a relationship developed to which we refer as "being a follower," but which is described more characteristically and accurately by the Makassarese word for follower, Ana ana. (Ana signifies "child," Ana ana, "little child.") Between the Anakaraeng and his protégé there existed, therefore, the relationship of a great and powerful man and a little child.

571 The follower was obliged to recognize the Anakaraeng as his master (karaeng). He was forced to accompany him while
675 hunting and on his travels, to help him in various agricultural activities, to bring his small presents, and to perform services at his festivals. He was obligated to assist him if he was threatened or attacked, or if he had to avenge an insult. In a word, he had to follow his master (minawang) and carry out whatever he was enjoined to do. The Anakaraeng, on the other hand, assumed the responsibility of guarding his ana ana against any arbitrary treatment, and if they suffered alleged or actual injustice, he took their side. The relationship was so close that to insult a follower was equal to insulting his

/103 cont./ master, and the latter already felt offended if
571 one of his followers so much as received a poor reception. If
675 a follower's horse or buffalo were stolen, the master would
say: 'My buffalo or my horse is stolen,' and he would leave no stone unturned to get back the stolen property and to avenge himself upon the culprit -- more accurately, the one who insulted him --, for he would not dream of handing over the thief to the authorized judge.

"The tie between Anakaraeng and ana ana was voluntary and consequently could be broken. The Karaeng rarely dismissed his followers because of bad behavior. As a rule he did so if the follower did not satisfy his far-reaching /104/ obligations or had been disobedient. The follower, on the other hand, would choose another Karaeng if he thought that he was being insufficiently protected, if his master demanded too many services of him, or if, in his opinion, another follower was more favored. Such a break in relations was rarely resorted to, however, because the follower would incur the hatred and vengeance of his former master.

"The Karaeng were also obligated to provide for the material interests of their followers. They helped them with paddy fields, with paddy, plowing, cattle, and sometimes with money, for instance in cases of marriages and deaths. Not all Karaeng, however, fulfilled this obligation; many were more intent upon their own interests than upon that of their ana ana.

"The higher the social standing of an Anakaraeng, the
554 more followers he had. Conversely, the more followers he
565 had, the greater was his standing and influence, and the
571 anakaraeng /sic/ who had the most followers was at the same
time the most prominent and the most influential.

571 "Followers consisted of distant blood relatives, people
[602] who from generation to generation had been the followers of
one single kin group, and people, frequently foreigners, who

571 [602] /104 cont./ had voluntarily become followers. They lived not only in the vicinity of their master; some resided even outside the Glarangship or regency, and only came if they were called or required protection.

571 631 "If a follower found himself in a dispute, if he had committed a misdemeanor which might put him in difficulties, or else if he had been harmed or insulted, he would not turn to his head, his Glarang, or to the regent, but rather to his master, his Karaeng, who acted as his protector, safeguarded his rights, and always tried to help him out of difficulties. It is obvious that the more prominent, the more influential the person who concerns himself with the interests of his follower, the easier it was to obtain justice, the more chance there was to be judged in the right even if one were wrong. Conversely, it was all the easier to go unpunished if one had committed an offense.

"This system of followers underwent such an expansion that not only Anakaraeng, but all nobles, and even well-to-do natives had followers. Consequently, in addition to the division of the /105/ land area into Glarangships and Kalompowan kampongs, there existed a division of residents into nobles, each with his followers, so that everyone of them constituted a power in the regency."

571 648 The quotation was long but valuable. Kooreman further points out that the function of the European administration is actually that of a super-karaëng, able to provide effective protection for all who ask for it, without any obligations being attached to this. In his opinion, this had as a consequence that in the course of decades the appeal for protection to the anakaraeng decreased, so that their power disappeared at the same time. As a result, little states within the state -- in the sense of a nobleman forming with his followers a unit within the realm -- no longer occurred.

178 571 From the data available at present, it appears that in the course of the last 75 years the forms in which the system of

178 571 /105 cont./ followers manifested itself have changed. The general characteristics to be met with today are the following:

The higher person is connected with a number of lower ones, his people. The latter work his sawahs in the broadest sense of the word, that is to say, from the first tilling to the delivery of sheaves at his house. They take care of his maize gardens and guard his langsap trees when they bear fruit. They run errands for him in the pasars; they carry wood and water for daily use, do repairs on the house, manufacture the common utensils from bamboo or wood, and finally assist at a festival held by their master by performing the innumerable little tasks. On the other hand, those inferiors who are unmarried and live with their master have their food and clothing provided for them, and there is the chance that their master will let them marry and provide their wedding feast. Once they are married, the couple is provided with a dwelling and has a number of sheaves delivered to its house after the harvest. This lower person then lives apart with his family but remains in daily contact with his master by way of the tasks which he has to perform. Since he remains closely connected with his master, he is permitted to participate in the festivals that break up the monotonous kampong existence, and he shares in the social standing which is displayed on these occasions.

[675] There is never a question of a firm agreement at the beginning of the relationship. The tie may be broken at any moment. Such a rupture, however, always takes place only gradually. An abrupt break is avoided, /106/ because this indicates quarreling and because it is thought to be better if one leaves before the conflict breaks out.

178 557 558 571 The tie between a higher person and his people is advantageous to both parties in their striving to rise. To lose a follower implies a diminution of social standing for the higher person. Here his generosity to his people is of importance. The superior who has a reputation for making his

178 /106 cont./ people work a great deal and for giving little
557 has difficulty in obtaining people and tends to jeopardize
571 severely his striving to rise. The termination of the tie with
558 his master involves for the lower person the loss of the superior's
protection and help and at the same time the loss of social
standing which the association with the superior casts on him.
Three-quarters of a century ago, however, the loss of protection
was a graver matter than it is today. Since then, the position
of the lower people has become stronger.

554 A number of distinctions can now be made with regard
565 to the multiplicity of forms in the system of followers. It
571 would be exceptional for an ordinary kampong resident to have
a stranger in his house who works for him and who could be considered to have entered into a relationship as a follower. Such a relationship is, in a case like this, extremely temporary. If, in the course of years, personal ties become stronger, and if the stranger works and lives to his satisfaction, then the relationship is continued. But frequently, especially if he is married, the follower starts out for himself after a while with a garden or a sawah of his own. As a result, such a relationship becomes looser although it need not be broken. In that case, the former followers no longer live as servants but as newcomers in the kampong (1). Subsequently, it depends upon their personal relationship to their master whether they will continue to come and help at special events such as festivals.

571 As an example of this in Bontoramba, we can point to a
married couple who had committed silariang. Before
591 reconciliation, this couple had worked for one of the wealthy
people of the kampong, had moved into a house of their own,

---

1. In the Bontoramba census, they were included among the Rest group.

571 /106 cont./ and subsequently had continued to live there
591 even after the reconciliation. Furthermore, there lived in Bontoramba a young woman, an orphan who had gotten into difficulties with her parents, who lived elsewhere, and so she had been taken into the house of one of the prominent /107/ kampong residents. In the third place, a Javanese, an ex-colonist, should be mentioned here. He had come to live in the house of one of the Mangenre group to work for this person (1). Similar cases are known to occur in each kampong.

[125]

1. The two last-named individuals were registered as kinsmen of the master of the house in the census.

571 Nowadays a kampong head frequently has someone in
622 his house who carries letters for him and performs extra
202 errands. This function is created by the need for a confidential
602 messenger (2). Frequently the head will take a young kinsman

2. In Borongloë the suro (literally, "messenger") has come to have the job of attending to community labor /gemeentediensten/ -- until shortly before the war, corvée /herendiensten/. He does not run errands. This development, however, varies greatly from one locality to another.

for this purpose.

571 In principle, kinsmen are equals, and therefore there
602 can never be any question of a relationship of followers between

571 /107 cont./ them. If, for instance, a young unmarried
602 man goes to work for a prominent uncle (3), this is always a temporary arrangement. For a person who helps his uncle thereby increases the difference in standing existing between that uncle and his own family. Consequently, a young man will prefer, in the long run, to work for his parents, younger brothers, and unmarried sisters rather than to help his uncle gain more social standing.

[554
466] (3) Here used in the sense of purina, thus someone belonging to a higher generation.

People who work for a blood relative can be called
554 followers, but this occurs only if they /108/ serve as followers
571 of one head together with non-kinsmen. In that case they
602 occupy the highest position among them. Because of their less pronounced personal qualities they are bound to obey, that is, to follow their kinsman, but with respect to the other followers they are higher, and therefore the leaders, by reason of their descent.

The dwelling of the adat community head is the center
634 of Borongloe. The adat community office is, as it were, merely one of its extensions. Matters of taxation, transferences of land and cattle, quarrels which end in fights, elopements, marriages, foreigners, and all that concerns the ornament worship are handled by the head. In the case of some problems the persons involved were referred to the office and to office hours, but the head receives most of them at his home where their problem is discussed and settled right away, if possible.
571 An active head in this way attracts much information. A
634 number of followers will regularly be found around him.

These work for him in the sawahs and in the gardens, and in addition they run errands for him. Some of them

571 /108 cont./ prefer to carry messages or summon people;
634 others are especially charged with the care of horse and gig
(bendi). As good followers, however, they are at the same
time the cars and eyes of their master. They report to him
everything that happens in the kampongs so that he remains
571 fully informed. They may, in certain cases, proceed harshly
634 if someone commits a discourtesy against the head, for it is
626 also their task to punish a breach of authority in a manner
clear to everyone. Each attempt to undermine authority
must be suppressed. Not to react to it is regarded as a sign
of weakness. In these times of fixed boundaries this is not so
serious, but in the period before 1905, there immediately
existed the threat of a defection with all its consequences.

571 The followers of the adat community head of Borongloë
634 numbered seven in July, 1948. They included, first, one of
[602] his cousins (samposikali); second, a Javanese who had remained in South Celebes as ex-romusha (1), had learned the language, and had come to feel at home in Borongloë; and third, five sons and sons-in-law of followers of his father when he had been head.

/109/ Another adat community head had the same number of followers, but among them were three contemporaries linked to him through personal ties that dated from previous periods of his life, among others his school period. These ties now constituted the basis of their follower relationship.

The difference between these two adat community heads is clear. In the latter case we are dealing with a head who, for the maintenance of his power, relied, at least in part, on the ties personally created by him. In the first case, the head,

1. A Japanese word which acquired the meaning of "forced laborer."

571 /109 cont./ whose personal qualities were of little account
634 among the Makassarese, relied almost entirely upon ties
created by preceding generations. That he was able to maintain himself as head during these times is merely due to the support of his father, the former head, and to that of the Self-government of Goa.

The kinsmen of the adat community head live distributed
554 over three kampong territories. In his group of relatives it
571 is always pretended that the number of followers living with
602 and among the kinsmen in these kampongs is very large. This
634 is done to make the social standing of the group appear as
great as possible. After all, the possession of many followers indicates that a group rises considerably above those around them. In effect, in the adat community head's group of relatives only eight houses with followers were found. The occupants in each case had a special tie with one of the head's kinsmen. They performed the customary tasks for the head and cooperated at the festivals of other members belonging to this group of relatives.

According to reports, the number of followers of the
554 karaëng group is very large, especially the number of those
565 whose previous generation also worked for this group of
571 relatives. The karaëng are each supposed to have had one or
more followers who frequently lived in the neighborhood of the master (1). This conception of the situation corresponds

---

[241] 1. It is related that here working the sawah is entirely in the hands of followers because people do not like to see a karaëng working in the sawah.

554 /109 cont./ completely to the established ideal, the more
565 followers, the greater the standing. But in view of the experience
571 with the adat community head's group of relatives who, even
though on /110/ a lower level, gave the same representation
of the matter, it is necessary to be careful here, too, so long
as we must proceed entirely from unauthenticated reports.

178 The importance of the system of followers in the earlier
571 form described by Kooreman decreased. New forms arose;
these are to be found in the big-city relationships of Macassar.
In the country areas, the relationship of large landowner to
day laborer is an example.

The system of followers in and around the city of Macassar
178 is observable wherever wealthy merchants earn their money
441 by means of the sale and purchase of rice and fish, sand and
571 stones. For their trade they employ a large number of people.
This employment relationship can best be described as that of followers to their master in which the personal qualities of the merchant, the *punggawa,* are of overriding importance. Here, too, a follower avenges an insult done to his *punggawa*. Here, too, services performed -- frequently in addition to a fixed salary or piece wage -- are rewarded irregularly and in a general way. Here the *punggawa* also has a personal tie with a number of his people. When he dies his trade immediately goes down. His organization is built upon personal ties with his subordinates.

Large Landownership

491 Some characteristics of the system of followers can also
571 be found connected with large landownership (1), in the
466

---

1. No figures are available to indicate precisely when we can begin to speak of large

471
571
466

/110 cont./ landownership. The examples given here are taken from conditions where no doubt can exist about the existence of large landownership. A single individual in each case owned more than 20 hectares.

relationship of the large landowner to his representative
(*koasa*), and of each of these to their respective laborers. In
South Celebes there are, on the whole, sufficient grounds on
the basis of which a large number of small farmers could be
forced to work the land of others. The form of large landowner-
[554] ship encountered here must be understood from the point of
view of relationships obtaining between high and low. The
two factors, descent and personal qualities, with which we
already have become acquainted above, are important in this
respect.

A large landowner generally has a few hundred /111/ sawahs which lie distributed in various kampongs far removed from each other. The landowner himself, who usually lives far away from these, therefore employs someone to be his *koasa* in a kampong or, if this happens to be convenient, in a district. The *koasa* sees to it that the sawahs located there are worked. He, in turn, hires a number of people from that region as laborers. The latter receive as many sawah sections as they desire or are able to handle. The *koasa's* task is to see to it that the sawahs are worked, that this is done as well as possible, that the distribution of the harvested sheaves takes place according to the agreements made, and finally, that a reasonable number of sheaves reaches the landowner. The latter, therefore, must be able to trust his representatives. Consequently, he chooses by preference someone who already has a personal relationship to him and someone who

466 /111 cont./ furthermore has demonstrated that he is capable
471 of administering and working his own lands well. A *koasa* is
571 frequently an energetic personality. Such an individual in turn easily attracts laborers, either among his own kinsmen, or among the other kampong residents. Through his *koasaship* he gains in standing. The reason that the *sunrang* was higher for a girl than was customary in her group of relatives was explained by the fact that her father was a *koasa*.

One whose standing is solely based upon descent will not necessarily be a large landowner at the same time. After all, he frequently may not possess the personal qualities necessary to attach the best *koasa* to himself; inferior *koasa*, in their turn, attract inferior workers. The distribution of the harvest is less well organized, the number of sheaves that such a large landowner would receive in his house would therefore be scarcely worthwhile. A large landowner who might attempt to make working contracts which are too advantageous for him would find out that this is not appreciated. As a consequence of such a move workers who do not need his land to provide for their sustenance would either go to work the lands of others, or else start up for themselves.

Not every nobleman, therefore, is able to muster up the
[565] initiative and the organizational ability to develop a new complex of sawahs. This can only be done by a nobleman who possesses, in addition to the necessary descent, the personal qualities required for such an undertaking. If these personal qualities are present, many people, rather than setting out for themselves, develop a tract of land for him under the leadership /112/ of one of his *koasa*. The tie with the superior is then regarded as of great importance (1).

1. Sometimes a person who possesses much land employs a so-called *koasa-lompo* ("large representative") who, in his turn, hires local

466 /112 cont./ koasa, sometimes called,
471 for purposes of differentiation,
571 "small representative"
(koasa tja'di).

441 One who owes his standing solely to his personal qualities obtains no more in returns from his land than a person whose
471 standing is based entirely upon his descent, as might be expected
454 on rational economic grounds. During the postwar periods when many Makassarese merchants were earning large sums, one might have expected that many of them would have invested even a small part of their money in pices of land in the interior. One would have thought that they might have bought sawahs, or that at least they would have had large pieces of land entered in their name in the land-tax registers with the purpose of having them developed later. Nothing of this kind, however, appears from the Goa land-tax registers. The opinion of one of these merchants that he did buy jewelry with this money but no land because land is difficult to sell quickly if one needs money merely points to the direction in which the explanation must be looked for.

For a merchant who is not related to the nobility of Goa,
571 it is difficult to attach a good koasa to himself and through him
565 a large number of laborers. If he were to purchase several
554 pieces of land, his share in the harvest would not be worth the trouble. An ordinary kampong individual prefers to work the land of a prominent man from the karaĕng group. In that he has confidence; it strengthens his position. A tie with a nobleman always appears valuable. On the other hand, so long as economic necessity is not coercive and the personality of the large landowner does not convince him of his special personal qualities, there is no reason for the kampong man to work for this wealthy stranger. In principle, this stranger is regarded as an equal with whom one can therefore

571 /112 cont./ compete and of whom one can take advantage,
565 while, the relationship to nobility is one of low to high rank,
554 based upon cooperation. A wealthy stranger could only have
his lands worked successfully if he manages to marry one of
the *karaëng*. Marriage into the group signifies that he is re-
garded as possessing the required personal qualities.

554 /113/ The relation of descent to personal qualities can
565 perhaps be found in a Makassarese idea that the most
appreciated qualities are inherent in the *karaëng* group of
[643] relatives, and that the prince is looked upon as possessing
these qualities to the greatest degree.

One whose descent cannot be traced to the *karaëng* related group, but who gives evidence of possessing these
qualities is, therefore, more or less regarded as a *karaëng*.
[582] Marriage to a member of the *karaëng* group is possible in that
case.

156 The personal qualities required to be a "good" master in
178 Kooreman's time are different from those required at the
present time. The old ideal of personality has not (yet) lost its power of attraction, but a new ideal is emerging alongside it, which is not (yet) accepted. In his book *Bontorio*, H. J. Merlijn sketched the old ideal in the figure of "the last general," and the new in the general's son. In my opinion, the last sketch succeeded less well because this "*djurutulis*
[648] figure /clerk. -- Ed./ was equipped by him with a number
of personal qualities which the governmental authorities between 1905 and 1924 liked to see in the younger heads of nobility, but which were not accepted as a new ideal in this form.

156 A number of these qualities apply to the head who, as
554 was stated above, had been unable to attach any followers to
571 himself through his personal qualities and who had, therefore,
634 been forced to rely on kin group and the administration to
maintain himself in his function.

/113 cont./

Slaves (ata)

567
Matthes translates the term ata by "slave, " "servant, "
571 "subject." This translation is still correct, even today.
196 When the Prince of Goa speaks of his ata, it must be determined
from the context whether he means by that his slaves, his
followers, or his subjects, or possibly even his noble con-
federates. If someone refers to himself as ata in relation to
[554 the Prince, this is a self-abasement which -- especially if
643] an important person is involved -- /114/ frequently amounts
to an excessive elevation of the Prince and thus, at the same
time, of the speaker himself.

It is as difficult to translate the concept ata with a single term as it is to describe someone's social status in fixed, known terms. A translation is only possible if the relationship of the speaker to the one whose ata he considers himself to be is clear. Ata indicates a relationship. A resident of kampong Pakatto who calls himself an ata (subject) of the Prince of Goa turns out to own an ata (slave) himself.

Insofar as the term ata is translated by "slave, " it appears
567 that slaves belong to the highest social class. Friedericy
[644] reports that they were generally despised, but that court
slaves occupied a privileged position compared to ordinary
people (1). It seems that slaves cannot be placed in a fixed social hierarchy. They do not form an integrated group, either. Each slave has individual ties with his master. Their position can merely be indicated by the relationship to their master.

The position of slaves in Makassarese-Buginese country does not give rise to strong sentiments. "Even

---

1. H. J. Friedericy,
Dissertation, p. 551.

567 /114 cont./ though slaves were despised, insofar as I was able to find out, the treatment which they received cannot have been bad, " writes Friedericy (1). According to Friedericy, around 1905 slaves displayed the following chief characteristics:

1. Slaves were made by kidnapping (in time of war), through purchase, and through judicial sentences.
2. Slaves were regarded as persons without rights.
3. Slaves had a special sunrang lower than that of other people.
4. For slaves, ties with their master, not those with their kinsmen, were of prime importance.

With respect to these points, an investigation into present-day conditions prevailing among this group yielded the following results:

178 567 1. Kidnapping, trade in human beings, and sentencing to slavery through judicial sentence have been officially forbidden since around 1905. These practices may have continued during the first few years after that date, but soon after they no longer /115/ took place (1). Consequently, no new slaves were added.

2. At present there are no people left who are regarded to be without personal rights before the judge. If there are, for instance, people who have no land of their own, it is never

---

1. Ibid.

1. This refers to the area of the self-governments, which did not come under the direct influence of the government until 1905. Only then could the "abolition of slavery" be carried out effectively there.

178 567 /*115 cont.*/ stated that they may not possess land, but only that they do not need it because they are already being taken care of. Everyone knows that these people are free to move elsewhere to live and purchase or clear land. In several judicial proceedings it appeared that lower people were able to assert their rights against higher people.

178 567 583 3. In the above-mentioned regulation issued by the Prince of Goa, which set the amount of the *sunrang* for different ranks and classes in his realm, the *sunrang* for "the Prince's slaves" was fixed at 12 reals. No mention is made of other slaves. In the marriage register of the adat community of Borongloë, this *sunrang* for slaves was registered twice during the period from 1940 to 1949. However, they were not slaves of the Prince of Goa but slaves belonging to the adat community head and to a member of one of the prominent groups of relatives in kampong Pakatto, for whom the royal slaves' *sunrang* was entered.

4. Of a number of persons it may be said that they live with, and work for, their master. They have no land of their own. Their group of relatives comprises only a few families and is neither integrated nor traditional. They take part in the worship community of their master.

With these data before us, it is idle to debate whether someone is a slave or not, for example, because his parents were "slaves," and because a *sunrang* of 12 reals was paid for his marriage, but who, after all, is free to go wherever he likes, and has set up a trade in Macassar. While in his kampong he is still regarded as a hereditary slave because of his origin; in Macassar he is considered a clever tradesman.

178 567 The number of those who are regarded as slaves in their own kampong is diminishing. No new slaves are being added to this number; rather it is decreasing. In some cases this process even came about /*116*/ through an official declaration of emancipation (*sura' maradeka*) issued by the master. This happened as late as 1939 in Mandar (1). In the majority of

178
567 /116 cont./ 1. Legally, of course, such a declaration of emancipation has not the slightest significance since the official emancipation of all slaves by the government.

cases, however, the emancipation was brought about by the fact that children of slaves moved to other regions and there obtained the same opportunities as other independent individuals in their striving to rise. A family can be said to be still regarded as slaves in the kampong only if it is generally known that the respective parents were slaves, that at their marriage the slaves' sunrang was paid, and that this marriage was entirely regulated and provided for by the master, and if this couple has then continued to live in the same kampong, does not own any land there but works the land of the master, and further performs the customary tasks for him.

Put in general terms, this implies that in Borongloë, at 582 present, contempt is expressed only when marriage possibilities are discussed. Then it appears that ordinary people (tau samara') prefer not to enter into marriage ties with such people. Their marrying chances -- and this applies particularly to the young men -- are limited. Further, I noticed a certain contempt only when, as an investigator, I made inquiries concerning their official position. The work that the slaves perform is the same as the work performed by many others who are regarded as followers.

114
567 In 1883, Kooreman did not mention slaves in his definition of the concept of followers. For him, slaves form a group apart.

Friedericy (2) in his analysis of Makassarese-Buginese

---

2. See Friedericy, idem., p. 582.

114 /*116 cont.*/ society declares that the class of slaves is "really
567 secondary" and that it had "no appreciable task in the life of
the society." Consequently, he eliminates slaves from his
further discussion. From his data, however, it must be con-
565 cluded that slaves stood in a special relationship to the *karaëng*
567 and that in Goa they had no other ties among each other than
the awareness that they all belonged to members of one and the
same related group. The above-mentioned *sunrang* regulation
in which the Prince establishes a special *sunrang* only for his
554 slaves favors this point. To mention another example in
567 support of this interpretation, the adat community head of
634 Borongloë does not speak to a *karaëng* about his *ata*, but about
/*117*/ his people (*taunna*), because speaking of his *ata* would
be an expression of haughtiness. In so doing he would place
himself on a level with a *karaëng* and thereby make himself
ridiculous. Toward his subjects he does speak of his *ata*, but
even then he does so much less openly than the Prince (1).

[641] 1. In 1949 slaves in Borongloë had the active right to vote. In point of fact they participated in the election. Before the war I made no inquiries into this matter. On page 552 of his dissertation (1933), Friedericy reports that slaves were barred from the right to vote with respect to the heads placed over them. Here he is referring to the slaves belonging to the *karaëng*.

178 It seems that the possession of slaves is something that be-
565 longs to the *karaëng* group like a certain ritual or a certain
567 color, and that it is something which has been successively

178 /117 cont./ taken over by lower groups, like so many other
565 cultural elements belonging to the highest group. In this case,
567 the possession of slaves was not prohibited by this highest group to the lower ones, but at the same time it was not simply permitted, either. This explains why, in his first conversations with the investigator, the adat community head claimed the number of his *ata* to be very large. At the same time it explains why, when the *ata* question was repeatedly brought up, he later remarked that it was a little silly to talk so much about his *ata*.

Most of the external characteristics that distinguished slaves during Kooreman's, and perhaps still in Friedericy's, time have disappeared. A single characteristic to be found with only a few individuals today is still reminiscent of a complex which half a century ago occupied a much more important place in the culture.

Loyalty Oath

521 Whenever Makassarese men between fifteen and thirty-five years of age -- referring to those I have in mind -- are together, it is a part of etiquette to tell tales which give to the observer an impression of boasting and exaggeration. Successes with women (always unrecognizably indicated in the vaguest terms), successes gained in a fight, or a victory in a verbal battle, they like to elaborate on all these. A valiant deed or a regal gesture is not kept quiet. In describing a feast, the number of buffaloes slaughtered for the occasion, the number of guests present, and the length of the festival are always made to appear as great as possible. Earlier festivals, in these stories, invariably surpass /118/ those of present times in all respects. The size of the speaker's own group of relatives in the past is clearly represented in this manner to those now alive, and thus also to the younger men, who are always among the audience.

537 /118 cont./ This boastful tone also comes to the fore in
643 the loyalty oath (aru) made to the prince by lower chieftains or prominent followers at the inauguration of a new prince or at other very important happenings such as war. It is a combination of expressions of the greatest self-glorification and words expressing the most abject subjection to the superior. It is the same kind of self-abasement which in the end is nothing but a self-elevation, as has already been noted in cases where men of standing call themselves the slaves of the prince.

This oath is uttered with a drawn kris and amidst signs of the strongest emotion. Sentence after sentence is shouted rather than spoken. The oath following here belongs to the former adat community head of Borongloë. Among other occasions, he uttered it at the inauguration of the Prince of Goa in 1937. The recording of the text took place in 1948 (1).

[114] 1. This translation has already appeared in the monthly magazine Oriëntatie for February, 1949. A number of improvements were made in it. The original text became mutilated and could therefore not be reprinted here.

537 Listen to me,
539 the most miserable servant of God,
643 the least among the warriors of the Prophet.
Where there is nobody, there am I
and where there is somebody, there am I
as his twin brother.
I am the man of the women,
the lover of the girls,
the man who is unshakably faithful to the adat,
who holds fast to the adat,

537 /118 cont./
539 who stands firmly for the truth.
643 I am always at work,
like a pack saddle that is never taken off,
like a saddle strap that is never loosened.
I am strong as a crupper which never tears, /119/
as a needle which never breaks,
as a hide that never yells when it is beaten.
Whether it is heavy or light,
I carry all.
If I am sent far away,
then nobody needs to help me at my task;
then one only needs to listen
to the report that I bring back.
For I am as a dove that does not
have to be lured but that comes by itself.
If I get work to perform close by,
then I need no help with it;
then one only needs to look on at my work.
For I am as a cock that does not need to be called,
but that comes of its own accord.
Even if there is but one single piece of rattan from a rattan mat,
even if there is but one single string of lontar,
if the Royal Council should sit on it, I will sit on it.
Even if rain and wind beat against me,
even if the whirlwind turns me around,
I am not afraid,
so long as I find protection with the Royal Council.
I am a descendant of people who persevere;
I am a descendant of people who do not fear death;
I am the most reliable of all confidants;
I am the best of all followers;
I am the most valiant man of Goa,
the hero of Borongloë.
Listen to the Berang River,
the never-breaking anchor cord of Goa.

537 /119 cont./
539 Listen to the mountain, the Bawakaraëng,
643 the never-loosening anchor,
such am I, too,
and only he who can be trusted in this way,
can truly be trusted.
If the Royal Council removes to the west,
then I will also go to the west;
if it removes to the east,
I will also go to the east. /120/
But if the Royal Council resides
with you, my Prince, in the ancestral gathering hall, then I
will remain below (1).

[342 645] 1. That is to say, I will not take part in the conference; I follow. Makassarese dwellings are built on posts. If the prince confers with his Royal Council, the lower people wait under the house and listen in.

Opposition

571 Fairchild's definition of the concept "opposition" gives a good picture of conditions in South Celebes. He defines it by: "resistance to or efforts to prevent or offset the efforts or ideas of another person or group, not necessarily accompanied by attitudes of anger or purpose to destroy or injure the opponent" (2) /cited in English/. This term will be used here.

2. H.P. Fairchild, Dictionary of Sociology, New York, 1944.

J

571 [593] /120 cont./ Opposition is inherent in the relations of men among each other. In the family the relation between father and son -- and to a lesser extent that between brothers -- is strongly formalized. As a result, opposition within the family is greatly reduced in force.

Opposition is observable between relatives and especially between the prominent members of one group of relatives.

554 561 571 The relation between a high and a low and, likewise, between an old and a young man, is also formalized. To contradict a higher or an older man is prohibited. To speak in his presence soon becomes a sign of discourtesy. The manner in which these social relations are conducted makes a stiff impression.

571 Opposition is further observable between groups of relatives. Where there is an ornament, the worship communities are in opposition to each other. There is opposition between kampongs, between adat communities, and among the wealthy.

Within all these groupings, there are always latent oppositions present. They are merely not always noticeable.

571 643 [794] Worship communities consequently do not always conduct themselves as a unit (3). The opposition can frequently be traced back to the family of the prince, for instance, if the individual who has been appointed prince on the basis of his descent, does not, at the same time, possess the personal /121/ qualities necessary for the effective exercise of his office.

3. A realm, that is to say, a local administrative and political unit, and the worship community around the ornament belonging to the prince of that realm, coincide to a great extent.

643 669 /121 cont./ The prince is regarded as the person of purest blood and as the possessor, to the highest degree, of the personal qualities which the Makassarese expect from a leader. If a prince satisfies both these requirements, he would seem to be in a position to conduct a policy directed at increasing his territory and the number of his subjects.

If a prince does not satisfy these requirements, there frequently occurs a schism within the realm which begins in the royal family. The conflict between the person who formally is the rightful heir because he is the oldest son or because he is considered to be of the purest blood and, on the other hand, the person who possesses the best personal qualities is frequently already present at a succession to the throne. Such a schism constitutes a threat to the prince. The power that his kingdom can exert outwardly remains small. For in that case, his efforts are still merely directed at maintaining his position within his realm. A classic example of this is the fraternal war in Sidenreng in 1831 and the succeeding years.

Eerdmans (1) clearly indicates the reasons that led to the

---

114 643 648 669 175 1. The quotation which follows here is taken from an important unpublished note concerning the history of the government of Celebes and the dependencies from the pen of the retired Assistant Resident, A. L. A. F. Eerdmans, who died shortly before the Japanese invasion. Other quotations from the same note, following below, will be indicated by "Eerdmans." It is hoped, that it will still be possible to publish the part of this work that was spared

[114]
643
648
669
← 175

/121 cont./ in the war. Publication of the work had been decided upon before the war, but had not been carried out.

battle: "From the preceding it appears that La Pawawooi Mohamad Ali, Prince of Sidenreng, a very old man, had always faithfully upheld Dutch interests and had performed many and important services for the government. When his son, Petta Tjambange, married the Wadjo princess, Mapalakae Aroe Maenge, it was decreed that the son that might be born from this marriage would be successor to the throne of Sidenreng.

175
643
669

"From this union was born La Patongai, Datoe Lampoele, who accordingly was presented to the administration at Macassar as successor to the throne, and recognized by decree. Datoe Lampoele, however, was a restless, adventurous person, whose actions and conduct caused offense in many respects. Moreover, he was greatly attached to Bone. /122/ One thing and another led to the fact that his grandfather, the old Prince of Sidenreng, became more and more estranged from him. The latter developed an increasing affection for a son of Petta Tjambange from a second marriage to We Nomba Daroe /sic/ Pamana, called the La Pangorisang, whom he decided upon as successor to the throne. Datoe Lampoele did not want to relinquish his claims to Sidenreng's throne and began to court the support of the Princess and prominent persons inside and outside of Sidenreng even during the final years of Mohamad Ali's life. Furthermore, he was able to count definitely upon the support of his father-in-law, Datoe Mario-ri-awa, and a number of prominent people from Wadjo and Bone. On the other hand, La Pangorisang had many followers of his cause among the great of Sidenreng, the Wadjo kinsmen of his mother, Datoe Pamana. Furthermore, he received support from the Prince of Barroe (Topatarai Soemagaroeka), his later father-in-law, as well as from the Princess of Sawitto and Rappang.

175 /122 cont./ When the old Prince of Sidenreng died on
643 November 7, 1831, and La Pangorisang made his appearance
669 as the new prince, a fraternal war soon broke out" (1). And

1. Eerdmans, pp. 515-516.

later:

"Through our intervention, La Pangorisang had been reinstated in 1835 in the districts taken away from him during the war. He had been reconciled with Datoe Lampoele, who was permitted to settle in Sidenreng. Quietly, however, he hoped for help from Bone in order to attain his goal sooner or later: Sidenreng's throne. Consequently, Sidenreng remained divided into two parties hostile to each other" (2).

2. Eerdmans, p. 520.

662 Signs of opposition are to be found on each level in a
557 multiplicity of forms. The system of followers strengthens
571 the position of the combatants. The striving is directed at beating a superior with the help of as many inferiors by way of followers and as many equals by way of confederates as possible. One tries constantly to become the highest among one's equals. A certain unity of territory is always maintained in the struggle; opponents and allies are found by preference among one's neighbors. In this way, the entire Makassarese-Buginese country, each kingdom, each adat community, each kampong, and even each group of relatives, as well as each family with more than one man, is potentially a theatre of battle.

/123/ In each of these groupings, several individuals strive for more power within the territorially limited opportunities existing for them. In so doing, they are always faced with the competitive efforts of their equals among each other. For if someone, in a certain situation, believes that

662 557 571 /*123* *cont.*/ he can better serve goals for himself, his kin group, and possibly for his country, by not keeping to a certain agreement, he withdraws. One cannot count upon loyalty between equals with respect to the agreements made among them. Loyalty unto death is to be found only between high and low (1).

> 1. Here, too, there are limits. Personal loyalty of a lower toward a higher person is held in esteem. But loyalty on the part of a related group of lower people toward a higher /group/ lasts as long as the former know themselves to be dependent upon the latter, and so long as they do not have a more powerful higher /group/ to which they can turn for help and protection.

Now, if we look a little more closely at a number of opposition phenomena on various levels, it appears that a general direction can be pointed out in spite of confusing differences.

622 554 602 The *kapalakampong* strives to keep his *kapala*ship for himself and his kinsmen, for the person who has authority over a non-kinsman is higher than that non-kinsman. Furthermore, his kinsmen, at least those within his kampong territory, share in the higher standing which he possesses in this way. With respect to the members of his own group of relatives and with respect to that of other groups residing in his territory, the position of the *kapala* is different. In his own group he belongs to the prominent men. In that capacity

554 /123 cont./ he hears everything that goes on. In his turn he
602 derives from his kapalaship the standing necessary to exert
622 influence within his group.

With the members of the other groups, his influence in
622 many cases extends only so far as is necessary to carry out the
[602] tasks enjoined on him by officials of the Inland Administration
via the Self-government and adat community heads. This, therefore, frequently concerns administrative matters, but in view of the fact that administration and the exercise of actual power are not separated here, his influence is very great. For the residents of the kampong territory, the kapala is the man to whom they must pay their taxes. He is the one who regulates community labor, with whom the request for the clearing of a new plot of land must be registered in the first instance, from whom an aspirant kampong /124/ resident must request permission to settle, to whom guests staying overnight must be reported, and so on.

He must be known therefore in all such daily matters. He is the link between the residents of his kampong and the adat community head. Accordingly, it is important for all kampong residents to be on friendly terms with him. His influence soon ceases with non-kinsmen. He does not enter into affairs which are important to them as kinsmen. If he makes an attempt to extend his influence further, opposition arises. The opposition between the various group of relatives in one and the same kampong territory finds expression, among other things, in the exercise of the function of gurukampong.

793 The gurukampong is the lowest religious official in the hierarchy in which the kali stands at the top for the entire realm and in which the imam is subordinated to the kali for affairs inside the adat community. In his turn, the gurukampong is again subordinated to the imam for matters concerning the residents of his kampong. His task is to make the imam acquainted with births and deaths, marriages, and cases of people who want to get a divorce. He lends a hand at a birth,

793 /124 cont./ burial, and grave visits insofar as Moslem ritual must take place there.

602 793 The gurukampong therefore deals directly with the intimate kin-group life, and for that reason people prefer a kinsman to fulfill his function. A group of kinsmen living together in one kampong territory, in addition to the Kapala group, consequently has its own guru (1). In one kampong territory one finds, therefore, in many cases one or even two gurus working for their own kin groups, in addition to the actual gurukampong. They try to enter into direct contact with the imam. This provides them with an independent position toward the guru of the Kapala group. [622] Sometimes (as in Bontoramba) the kapala permits this. The guru of the Kapala group must then content himself with that. But the kapala and his guru, as well as the imam, can oppose this attempt.

621 622 666 /125/ Where the Kapala group is not the only one in the kampong but by far and away the largest, a struggle can frequently be observed, even though it has not yet assumed any distinct form. Wherever two almost equally large groups live next to each other in a single territory, the struggle comes more clearly to the fore. An example of this is to be found at the election of a new kapala. Election takes place, according to the election regulation of 1927, by the majority of votes of the able-bodied men. The struggle is conducted, on the one hand, through attempts to attach the kampong residents who do not belong to either of the two competing groups of relatives to one's side, and, on the other hand, by strengthening the tie with the adat community head; or, if this is possible,

1. In Bontoramba, the Mangenre group (18 houses) has its own guru. A number of other Buginese residing there are also helped by this man. The others, Makassarese, in cases when they require it, ask for help from the guru of the Kapala group.

621 /125 cont./ by interesting a member of the high nobility in
622 the case. Their help is of importance because (although this
666 is not based upon the election regulation) sometimes they de-
clare the ballot invalid, or else report afterward that only a
test ballot had been held, in case the result did not agree with
their wishes (1).

[648] 1. The 1927 regulation of the election of headmen is therefore not applied as was intended by the European administration which introduced it. Majority of votes is, according to Makassarese feelings, not sufficient in itself to capture the kapalaship. To this end, the consent of their own head is also required. This regulation, therefore, does not preclude arbitrary actions on the part of the higher people, but it does limit them.

622 The kapala can strengthen his position by establishing
662 a link with other kapala. The proved means of doing this is
634 to contract a marriage. But this action would immediately
result in a power formation within the adat community, which
the adat community head does not like to see. To an even
greater degree this is the case if a kapala were to seek contact
with a neighboring adat community head. Such an act would
suggest a certain enmity toward the kapala's own /adat com-
munity/ head, for it is an immediate threat of defection from
177 his own head to the neighboring head. Insofar as is known,
634 the latter situation rarely occurred, because after 1905 these
648 defections were no longer left to the free interplay of

177 634 648 /125 cont./ Makassarese forces, but had to be approved by the officials of the Inland Administration. This administration in practice only rarely permitted boundary alterations. It preferred to hold fast to the boundaries fixed in the years after 1905.

622 662 The kapala can also seek to establish contact with the kin group of the /126/ adat community head. A marriage between members of the two groups of relatives seems to be possible (1).

554 582 622 634 1. In this connection one can remark that it is always a man from the adat community head's group who marries a girl of the kapala group. Some difference in standing is always considered to exist between adat community head and kampong head, and therefore between their groups of relatives. Through the marriage, the implication is avoided that a man is marrying a woman from a group of relatives with higher standing than his own. A cousin (samposikali) of the adat community head was thus joined in marriage with a daughter of the kapala of Bontoramba.

622 In the succession to the kapalaship, a clear preference for the son, at least for a close

622 /126 cont./ kinsman of the previous kapala, is demonstrable. In 7 of the 14 kampongs of the adat community of Boronglo**e**, the kapala changed between 1939 and 1949. Three of these were succeeded by a son, one by a son-in-law, one by a younger cousin, and two by someone from another group of relatives. In the first of these cases, the old kapala was a Sajid /Sayid?/, a stranger who was forced to leave the kampong and the adat community because of woman trouble. In the last case, the new kapala was a distant kinsman of the adat community head. This man had sailed across many seas as a KPM sailor. He possessed a quiet influence over people and was elected without much opposition.

[626]

622 602 662 It seems, therefore, that the kapala and the prominent members of his group of relatives strive to maintain themselves in their own kampong territory, to strengthen their own position if possible, and to raise their own standing outside the region by establishing ties with equal or slightly higher groups.

634 602 662 The adat community head conducts a policy which inside his region is, in the first place, directed at making his own group of relatives into as strong a unit as possible, and, in the second place, to strengthen as much as possible his influence in the kampong where he has no kinsmen living. The latter is done by establishing a marriage tie, or by trying to have a

602 634 662 /126 cont./ kinsman or a trusted follower named as kampong head. Thus, at an election for a kapala, the brother of the adat community head was set up as a candidate against a member of the leading group of relatives residing there. This
666 brother obtained a number of votes from members of the Rest group living there, but nevertheless lost the election. Only after the first ballot had been declared a test ballot, and the second produced the same result, did the adat community head give in.

634 661 The adat community head counteracts the formation of power centers in his region. He looks with disfavor upon marriage connections between the closest kinsmen /127/ of his various Kapala, unless it is he himself who brings about such a marriage. Furthermore, he knows that an ornament which is in the hands of one of the Kapala groups always signifies a potential threat to him.

634 661 643 Insofar as he is concerned with affairs outside the adat community, the adat community head generally endeavors to establish ties either with his fellow adat community heads or with his prince and his kinsmen. The prince looks with disfavor upon the former practice for it threatens to create a direct power center within his realm. He would be even more averse to a tie between one of his adat community heads and a neighboring prince. Although this need not be expected from the heads of the adat communities lying close around the center of Goa, in the marginal, mountainous regions
634 643 662 the situation is different. There it has happened that a local head defected from his prince in order to follow another (1).

1. "Although the mountain Makassarese continued for a long time to resist a union with the maritime Makassarese, and in 1817 under Aroe Mampoe submitted to the new Prince of Goa,

634 /127 cont./ Karaeng Lembangparang,
643 Aroe Bakara had neverthe-
652 less obtained some following
among them. This following
grew gradually and made it
possible for him to cause the
greatest part of the Goa
mountain districts to defect
from their Prince."
Eerdmans, p. 398.

These heads, living along the frontiers of the realm, frequently did not so much follow the most powerful of their neighbors, but rather the one who permitted them the greatest freedom of action in their territories. After 1905 the boundaries were also fixed in this area.

In the interior the prince tries to create as powerful a unity as possible in his kingdom by working for unity in his own related group in the first place and, furthermore, by extending as much as possible his influence in the adat communities under his jurisdiction.

The Prince of Goa conducted this policy successfully during the years preceeding the outbreak of the Second World War. In a short period of time he succeeded in having one of his kinsmen appointed as adat community head in two of these adat communities.

602 These two former heads' respective groups of relatives
634 went down in standing through this action. After all, they
558 derived this standing in the very first place from the headship,
and now they seemed to have been pushed back into the rank
602 of the ordinary groups of relatives. At this moment they
634 merely endeavored /128/ to surround the new adat community
662 head of *karaeng* blood as much as possible with their own
557 people, so that they could still remain leaders among the

602 634 662 557 /128 cont./ other groups of relatives in their adat communities, even though in this position they merely carried out the commands of the *karaëng*.

The *karaëng*, on his part, constantly tried to break through this tie which was, as it were, placed on him, by seeking contact with the prominent members of the other groups. The latter saw in this a chance to occupy a prominent position in the adat community through the *karaëng*, a position which they had not enjoyed previously. On the other hand, they did not dare to place themselves too much in the foreground in relation to the kin groups of the former heads, taking into account what might happen if the Prince's influence, at present penetrating more deeply, should again diminish.

The adat community heads who had remained in power felt themselves threatened by the Prince's political successes. "We are becoming unimportant," said one of them.

648 In a discussion of the relationship of the prince of Goa to his fellow princes, three different points must be kept in mind. First, territorially speaking we go beyond Goa in such a discussion. The entire Makassarese-Buginese region then becomes the field of investigation. Secondly, due to the fact that a number of events that took place at the courts of the princes were more or less regularly recorded during the last few centuries, we are able to use a number of historical data in this discussion which are unknown to the adat community heads and kampong heads. Thirdly, we must first indicate the position of the Netherlands East India Company and later the Government of the Dutch East Indies with respect to this opposition, which was ultimately intended to capture the hegemony of South Celebes.

175 648 If we look at what Eerdmans reports about this, we get the impression that the conduct of the Netherlands East India Company repeatedly brought about a reversal in the power relations existing at that moment, but that this did not produce any alteration in the manner in which the princes

175 648 /128 cont./ conducted their policies. The princes saw in the Netherlands East India Company and, later, in the Government of the Dutch East Indies not the ruler who had to be driven out by the concentration of all forces /129/, but a new power center, which they drew upon in their mutual oppositions and which they utilized to realize their political aims.

The N.E.I. Company was attacked whenever its position was regarded as weak. As soon as the number of troops in Macassar was decreased, or a squadron had again departed from the Macassar roadstead, the tone of the opponent's letters changed (1). The N.E.I. Company was repeatedly defeated

1. e. g., in the conflict between the Queen of Bone, Bataritodja, and Governor Smout, around 1730. "The impudent conduct of Bataritodja was primarily caused by the decrease of our troop strength at Macassar. There was urgent need for military reinforcements on Java"; see Eerdmans, p. 291.

[183] but never destroyed. That fits in with the Makassarese habit of thought. It is regarded as sufficient if the defeated opponent is the weaker one in the ensuing discussions. Whenever the N.E.I. Company was attacked, it always found support from those who did not like to see an increase in the attacker's power.

This state of affairs lasted until 1905. At that time the whole of South Celebes was subjected to the authority of the Dutch East Indies Government. It was only then that the boundaries of kingdoms, adat communities, and kampongs were fixed. These boundaries have subsequently been adhered to as much as possible.

175 177 643 648 /129 cont./ It was only then that the government very gradually began to place emphasis upon other personal characteristics of the prince. The qualities which up to that time had been regarded as very important for him by the Makassarese now became less so. On the one hand, the government deprived a forceful personality of the chance to conduct a policy of expansionism, and, on the other hand, it supported a weak personality whenever he was threatened in his dignity by neighbors or kinsmen.

175 177 643 669 Only then did the opposition in the form described by Kooreman disappear, as it existed between the Prince and one of his most prominent relatives who, together with a large number of followers, built up power within the realm without the Prince's interference. In Kooreman's description, this state of affairs seems to be a phenomenon inherent in Makassarese society. At the same time, followers are described as good fighters who have no objection against a sword fight. Lower heads -- and with them all their subjects -- are also to be found among these. The silent endurance of the kampong residents who had to suffer from /130/ this counterforce is explained by pointing to the high blood of their leader whereby only a complaint registered with someone still higher, thus the prince, could have success. This is quite aside from the direct threat which is presented by such a group.

Finally, the prince himself did not act either in numerous similar cases when complaints reached him. Rather than risk a defeat through which he could lose his entire dignity, he tolerated this power within his kingdom. The leader of such a group made his appearance everywhere. As a close kinsman of the prince he also appeared in the palace. No such power groups existed when an active and forceful prince was the ruler, one who could lead his closest kinsmen by his personal qualities and who knew how to direct their energy for conquests outside his own territory. A small local "terror" of an otherwise dedicated follower of the prince was not held too much against him.

175 /130 cont./ In the period after 1905, when complaints
177 registered with the officials of the Inland Administration were
648 acted upon, the leaders of such groups, even those of high
669 nobility, were increasingly restricted in their movements.
It became apparent that they were not safe before the administration officials if someone had registered a complaint about them. Very slowly, often unconsciously, the realization must have dawned upon them, that they had to choose between submission to the rules of the new order, which the government upheld, and resistance against this same government.

175 The activities of those who chose resistance became
648 increasingly more distinct from those of the first mentioned.
669 Those who continued to resist were forced to withdraw
gradually with their followers into districts beyond easy access until they were finally taken prisoner or killed, after having been forced completely into the defensive and having been labeled bandit chieftain or gang leader. Such was the end of men like daēng Pabarang in the western part of Bone around 1910, and like Tolo (1) in Polombangkeng /131/ in 1915.

175 1. "In the second quarter of
177 the year mentioned (1915),
579 the number of robberies
565 increased disquietingly through
the appearance of a number of notorious gang leaders in the former province of Goa. Among these leaders there belong Tolo and his dreaded lieutenants, Basareng, Baso Patjiro Daēng Mapata, (constituting part of the Goa royal family) Radjamang,

175
177
579
565
/131 cont./ Djappa, Bakka (the two last mentioned had been armed police servants and instructors in the use of firearms), and Abbassa Daëng Manromo Karaëng Biladji, stepbrother of Goa's previous prince. In a comparatively small region, these persons committed no less than 130 lootings over a period of a few months. The brutalities frequently committed by them in broad daylight were indescribable since they were convinced that, even if they were recognized, nobody would dare betray them. The native heads, including many regents, paid them royal respects, presented them with horses, and organized feasts at their arrival for which buffaloes and horses were slaughtered. In many districts a system of contributions, a tax, was even introduced which safeguarded the payer against inconvenience." Eerdmans, p. 1078.

175
177 They had become figures who no longer fitted into a social system that was based on the ideas of peace and order, legal security, and personal safety, upheld by the government (1).

000 1. Through a series of special

600 /131 cont./ circumstances the appearance of daëng Mangemba became temporarily possible in 1927. For this, see Z(entgraaff), Celebesproblemen, pp. 5 ff.

177 643 602 662 With the disappearance of these figures, however, the opposition within the circle of the prince and his closest relatives did not disappear. After all, this opposition has its basis within the family in the relationship between the brothers. What disappeared was merely the form of opposition described by Kooreman in 1883, a power within the realm under the leadership of a man of high nobility, based upon force directed against the prince.

The opposition itself remained dormant. In the years preceding the outbreak of the Second World War, it emerged principally in a number of questions concerning hereditary succession.

In 1949 it again became apparent, this time in parliamentary form. It appeared that relatives of the various princes and Self-government members had seats in the representative councils which at that time were set up both for the daërah (the South Celebes Council), as well as for a number of kingdoms (among others the Bone Council). Compared to their ruling kinsmen, these men of the nobility are progressive individuals, but in a number of cases their endeavors merely seem aimed at eliminating the ruling prince and at one of them becoming the prince himself. They conduct the traditional South Celebes policy merely under new names and in new forms.

177 648 In November, 1948, the High Hadat (Hadat Tinggi) for the entire region of the daërah of South Celebes was set up. It was intended as an administrative body in which the various princes should have a seat. Unity was thereby created which

177 648 /132/ corresponded completely to the line of developments. The struggle for the hegemony of South Celebes herewith entered into a subsequent stage.

The princes of Bone and Goa became, respectively, chairman and vice-chairman of this body (1). It is to be expected that Goa will continue its struggle for the hegemony by endeavoring to capture the chairmanship of the Hadat Tinggi, an attempt that, if Goa should ever succeed in doing so, will subsequently be conducted in the same manner and with the same means by the kingdom which will then occupy the second position of power.

648 The people of South Celebes, and most of all the princes, know that they are part of a larger whole. Each power center situated outside South Celebes which wants to exercise influence in this area is regarded by the princes as a possible aid in attaining their ideal, hegemony. They are constantly striving for a single large kingdom encompassing the whole of South Celebes, where there will be peace. They think that this is possible to attain only for a prince of ideally pure extraction, one who possesses to the highest degree the ideal personal qualities.

Opposition is therefore conducted on the highest imaginable plane -- for South Celebes. The prince who has the leadership of the High Hadat will continue to strive toward the collapse of power of the other realms in order to strengthen his own position as well as that of his group of relatives, and in order to give them a greater durability. The possibility of conducting opposition will, however, always continue to be present with one of the other groups, if only for the reason that no prince can be of ideally pure extraction or can possess the ideal personal qualities.

---

1. Concluded as of December, 1949.

/132 cont./
Acculturation Phenomena

177 Cultural elements derived from western Europe and based upon the principle of equality cause difficulties when they are introduced into South Celebes. Only a few of these elements will be mentioned briefly to illustrate their conflict with the class structure. The most important of these are the public auction, soccer games /voetbalspel/, and the parliamentary form of government. Here we shall only indicate one aspect of this matter.

For colleagues to consult each other on a basis of equality,
177 /133/ independent of status, cannot be reconciled with the
554 idea that it is impolite to tell a higher person that one does
576 not agree with him. A school inspector is higher than a
teacher and so he knows better, such is the train of thought. At a conference convened around 1940 on behalf of the Department of Education, a Makassarese school inspector introduced a topic. The answer to the question whether there was agreement with what had been said consisted merely of a general "jo karaëng" (yes, sir). None of the teachers present dared to voice a different opinion for fear of being regarded as impolite.

The presence of two persons, one higher and one lower, who had been invited for the same meal by a Dutchman, produced various difficulties. The lower person waited until he was addressed before saying anything, and then he merely expressed agreement with what had been said. At most he would repeat the same thing in other words with a tone of assent. He would not take a single dish on his own initiative, but would wait until his host or the higher person pushed one in his direction, and even then he would eat only a few mouthfuls. As a result he had eaten practically nothing, when he rose from the table.

177 /133 cont./ Even modern Makassarese find these forms
554 of conduct stiff. They make fun of them but are incapable
576 of changing them, and rather than be impolite they leave
the table hungry.

A public auction in the Makassarese environment is
177 merely a caricature of what the Western jurists who initiated
554 576 it had in mind. If a higher person bids, lower person does
437 not dare to outbid him. Accordingly, he asks a man of
higher status, an equal of the first bidder, who is favorably
inclined toward him, to make a bid for him.

177 The head of the community concerned does not like to
554 participate in the bidding personally. He runs the chance of
576 being unexpectedly outbid by an ignorant stranger in
622 Makassarese country. This signifies a challenge to him, and
437 he must continue to bid much more than the object is worth
to him in order not to suffer a defeat in the eyes of his subjects.
And if the competitive bidding is done by a Dutch lady, as
might occur in a small administrative settlement, then he is
left merely with a laugh about such a "challenge."

A soccer game is based upon the equality of the players.
177 But if a *karaeng* takes part in the game, there can no longer
554 be any question of equality /134/ (1). When the *karaeng*
576
626
shouted "Run out" (*bakkai*) to his goalkeeper, the forward of
the opposing team who was running toward him interpreted
this as a command directed at him; he stopped, and the

---

1. The fact that, according to a newspaper report from the Netherlands, Prince Bernhard had gained third prize in a steeplechase was regarded as a gross discourtesy on the part of the two winners.

177 /134 cont./ goalkeeper of the *karaëng*'s team was easily
554 able to reach the ball first. When the *karaëng* had the ball,
576 the opposing team hesitated to attack. When the *karaëng*
526 fell down after a collision, the player of the opposing team
took care to roll over a few times himself and to get up again only slowly, in order to give the impression that it was he, and not the *karaëng* who was the loser in this collision. It is understandable that the Makassarese are not inclined toward soccer playing. The rules conflict with their feelings of courtesy toward a higher person.

526 People are more attracted to their own *raga* game than
554 by soccer precisely because it gives them the opportunity of
showing courtesy to the higher one, which puts both teams,
576 high and low, in a good mood. The *raga* ball is a light ball braided of bamboo or rattan. The players stand around in a circle. The purpose of the game is to keep the ball "alive" in a graceful manner. By foot, hand, arm, or head, it is transferred in little arcs from one player to the other. If a young nobleman takes part in the game, care is taken that he gets a good player next to him, that is to say, someone who can transfer the ball in such a manner that the *karaëng* can do something beautiful with it, so that he will reap the success in which the entire group shares.

643 The prince rules his realm through his kinsmen and
followers. His rights and obligations toward the people and
644 those of his kinsmen are not strictly defined. Friedericy leaves us no doubt concerning their flexibility.

644 Admission into the prince's group of relatives is only
possible on the basis of personal qualities, through marriage
585 into the group, and at the same time it is tied to limiting prescriptions. This gives the group a stable and durable character.

565 The highest social class rules. The concept of ruling
643 consequently has an element of durability.

175 /134 cont./ Shortly after the formation of the federated
648 state of East Indonesia, the Makassarese Nadjamuddin daëng
602 Malewa became prime minister. He belonged to a related group of officials living in Macassar and, aside from possessing a particularly keen intelligence and /135/ quick mind, he was endowed with those personal qualities which the Makassarese regard as indispensable for a leading figure.

Each individual with particularly good personal qualities creates a tension in his group of relatives. The tension which the Nadjamuddin aroused was simply of special dimensions.

The unity of this group of relatives was reinforced by the pressure from outside. After the formation of the new federated state, there developed in the ministries at Macassar a silent struggle between the various population groups -- Ambonese, Balinese, Makassarese, Menadonese -- for official positions. Under the pressure of the others, the Makassarese joined forces.

The new premier understandably found no Parliament that was able to comprehend the place ascribed to him in western Europe. The clearly defined rights and obligations, tied as they are in Europe to the ministers, could not be directly communicated here. As a result, the premier again resorted to the ancient Makassarese pattern of government.

Nadjamuddin ruled via his kinsmen and followers, who were active as officials in the ministries. In the Makassarese view, therefore, they constituted at the same time the highest social class.

The idea that this rule would be merely temporary, since, after all, it was dependent upon political conditions, was foreign to them.

The fall of Nadjamuddin as prime minister was conceived by the Makassarese as an impairment of his social standing and therefore also of theirs. The feelings of siri', (1) which came into being through this state of affairs

175
648
602 /135 cont./ 1. See Chapter 3, third part.

led them to turn away from the other population groups. The separatist tendencies of the time, which here assumed a political form, have their basis here.

Expectation of Salvation

668 In South Celebes expectations of salvation display a number of characteristics which in various points agree with the phenomena described above in this chapter. That is the reason for treating them here. The general traits are the following.

[787] A man or a woman prophesies that the days of the existing rule are numbered. All princes, Dutchmen, foreign Easterners /136/ will be killed or go away. Natural disasters and eclipses of the sun are close at hand; taxes will no longer have to be paid, and feudal services will no longer have to be performed (1). The person who makes these forecasts

1. There arose "a commotion because a certain Baso Oewa Taéna, who also called himself Baso Daëng Magassieng, predicted an eclipse of the sun, during which Battara Gowa (Sangkilang) would appear and would marry his daughter to him, Baso. After streams of blood had flowed and all Europeans and foreign Easterners had been removed, a mighty

668 /136 cont./ kingdom would arise, over which he would rule as prince." Eerdmans, p. 1089.

rouses the people, telling them to prepare themselves for [751] the new era. To this end he offers dijmat /sic; "charms"/ for sale, so that the wearers will be invulnerable and will be able to face the coming disasters safely. He teaches them special si[illegible] which they will be able to recognize each other in [illegible]re and by which they will also be recognizable to him wh[illegible]val is foretold and who will make the prophec[illegible] true. As a result he will also be able to make a di[illegible]tion between them and the rest of the people (2). Sometimes the prophet declares that he himself will

2. "In the wanua /districts/ of Mario riawo and Pettodjo-Soppeng, a certain La Maddidi claims to be the resurrected Petta Barang (Daeng Pabarang) who within a short period of time will take over the rule of the land. All those who at this time already submit to him, that is to say, become his followers, will later not be overwhelmed with misfortune. As followers they receive a symbol (djimat), for which they must pay 2.50 guldens. This will protect them against the time when Petta Barang will become the ruler." (1948). Taken from: Bestuursrapporten /Administrative Reports/, 1949.

668 /136 cont./ become the prince. He will claim that he is a descendant of a certain well-known historical figure whom he mentions by name, or else that the spirit of a certain deceased person has been reborn within him (3). In each case the named persons are well known as people who successfully fought against a prince or against the government.

There is anticipation of a prince who will rule in a powerful realm where peace will prevail (4). The person

---

3. See Z(entgraaff), Celebesproblemen. Reprint of a series of articles from the Soerabaiasch Handelsblad of February 18, 19, 20, 22, 25, 27, 28, and March 2 and 4, 1929, p. 51.

4. "About six months ago, a certain La Djumma, a native of the kampong Barang Barru, spread the rumor that the world would only be peaceful again when Puwang Mallinrunge (Petta Barang) became the ruler, something which would occur not too long from now. All those who were not acquainted with a certain ritual upon the arrival of Petta Barang would be killed. Those who would

/136 cont./ want to learn this ritual from him would have to pay him 10.25 guldens." Taken from: Bestuursrapporten, 1949.

who makes these forecasts /137/, may be any status or either sex (1), and does not even have to be a Makassarese (2).

1. "In the beginning of 1858, a certain Rantepatola Daeng Matene Karaeng Bontosoengoe and the daughter of the, to us, familiar Aboe Bakara Karaeng Data (son of Sangkilang) and sister of Karaeng Borong, Regent of Tanralili (northern districts) at Bontonompo (Goa), amidst an aura of mystery tried to foretell an imminent great war which was to cost the lives of many people, as well as the arrival of ships on one of which would be Karaeng Data. When she learned that the Prince of Goa was making arrangements to have her arrested, she fled to Kalongkong (Galesong southern districts), where

668/137 cont./ she continued the same performances and prophecies." Eerdmans, pp. 616-617.

2. "In September, 1919, peace was disturbed in the department of Soenggoeminasa for a short period of time by a Chinese, a certain Tjoa Tiong Leng, who also called himself Karaeng Baba and who pretended to be a descendant of Karaeng Data, son of Sangkilang, and therefore tried to get a following as a pseudo-Battara Gowa. Before this following was of any significance, the charlatan and his foremost accomplices were arrested." Eerdmans, p. 1094.

And further: "In November, 1915, the Buginese population of several kampongs in the subdepartment of Kendari were called together by a certain Hadji Abdurachman. This person claimed that he had received the order to call them together from Turkey. He advised the population to keep weapons handy because the

668 /137 cont./ Turkish Government would shortly come to replace Dutch rule, and the 'Companiya' had to be driven out of the land." Eerdmans, p. 1087.

The person who predicts the coming of salvation is the leader of the group, but he frequently lacks the noble blood and just as frequently the personal qualities which the Makassarese otherwise expect in a leader. His followers are those who purchase the djimat and who learn the prescribed ritual. They do not have the feelings of loyalty toward him either which are otherwise customary in a relationship of followers. It therefore seems better not to speak of a followers' relationship in this connection. The only tie which exists is based upon the belief in his prophecies. To proceed against such a group with armed force always brings rapid success. They practically never offer resistance. Actual overthrow of the existing government is not the prime target at which these people aim. If the forecasts are not realized soon, they wait. But once the leader has been imprisoned, the group collapses and the movement fails. [648 643] Such a movement was not only aimed against the government, but also against their own princes, when the Netherlands East Indies Company still occupied a completely unimportant position in Makassarese life. The princes at that time took just as effective countermeasures whenever such a movement was in the offing.

/138/ The expectation of salvation in South Celebes centers on the arrival of one of those strong personalities who in the history of the country played an important role by fighting successfully against the prince ruling at that time or else against Dutch rule. It is hoped that he will now succeed in his former striving, and that he will be able to drive out

668 /138 cont./ the present-day rulers, only to become the
prince himself in place of those who have been driven out.

181 The ideal of Makassarese-Buginese culture which is un-
consciously present in people's thinking could be described
182 as a large kingdom comprising the whole of South Celebes
668 where peace prevails under a powerful and good prince.
This formulation is based upon the striving, inherent in
every bilateral related group, for expansion and steadily
continuing inclusion of all surrounding groups until as large
a grouping as possible has been attained, whose limits for
the present are those of South Celebes.

We mentioned earlier a strong horizontal mobility
182 which can be explained by a conflict in personality structure
565 and at the same time by a great insecurity about the
154 individual's standing which has its source in the absence of a
clearly delineated vertical articulation. Unrest and insecurity
are therefore always present, even in times of peace and
order.

154 The established ideal is unattainable, but the individuals
content themselves with this so long as they have the
181 opportunity to continue striving for this ideal in the "ordinary"
182 ways present in the culture. But as soon as this possibility
668 no longer exists in their opinion, and when the individual,
perhaps unconsciously, believes that he is unequal to the
circumstances, then the otherwise usual tension between ideal
and reality becomes too great. The individual then seeks
to attain his ideal in an extraordinary manner, which almost
every culture provides.

The expectation of salvation is a hypertension phenomenon. It is an attempt to actualize in a short period of time the distant ideal which for a number of individuals had become too unattainable, whatever the reasons for this may have been.

/139/

Chapter III

Sex

593 In the chapter concerning kinship, the relationships of the members of the family among each other were treated separately. The relationship of brother to sister occupied a special place in this connection.

Their separation implies that their interests lie in different areas, that is to say, that both their activities as well as the places where they reside are different. These differences also form the pattern for the relationship between men and women in general.

562 The vertical tendency described in the previous chapter
demands of the men that they be in a constant relation of
opposition to other men. The violent actions and responses
831 that are expected of them go hand in hand with ideas about
great sexual potency, which is ascribed to them. The high
157 demands made of men coincide with anxieties about not being
able to fulfill these demands. A sense of inadequacy can
be observed repeatedly.

157 562 In the first part of this chapter, modes of conduct, attitudes, and personality norms of the two sexes will be described. After that, a number of inadequacy phenomena will be discussed. Prostitution as an expression of maladjustment on the part of women, and polygamy as an actualization of the vertical tendency by a man with exceptional personal qualities, will be briefly mentioned at the end.

581 In the previous chapter we referred to the central position which marriage occupies in Makassarese society. In the choice of marriage partners, the older people apply standards of selection based upon kinship, status, and personal qualities. They intend to bring about a normal sexual union between man and wife. The description of the marriage

581 /139 cont./ feast, in which this purpose finds expression,
and the difficulties which crop up on this occasion are the
topic of the second part.

558 /140/ As a companion phenomenon, the vertical
562 tendency includes the sense of siri', that is, the sense of
going down in social standing in relation to someone else.
The fact that a woman must not go down in standing means
that the slightest impairment of her social standing arouses
the most violent reactions. There are various ways of
escaping such a reaction. Marriage by flight is an example.
It will be discussed extensively, among other things, in the
third part of this chapter because it forms a spectacular
phenomenon in Makassarese society, one that constantly
leads to difficulties in the practice of administration and
jurisdiction.

§

First Part

852 Immediately at birth a difference is made in the ritual
between a boy and a girl. The parappo, the essence of the
offering to be presented, differs with respect to the number
of betel leaves of which it consists, depending on whether
it is intended for a boy (6) or for a girl (7). Children play
857 together up to the age of eight to ten years. Informants
855 said that girls were always treated more gently than boys,
for instance, that they were not beaten.

Not until the age of six years, so far as I was able to
857 observe, were little boys taught that they are not allowed
867 other things than girls /sic/. Boys of that age accompany
their father to the pasar; girls stay at home. Boys are sent
away when young girls (tau lolo) are getting dressed and
making themselves up. When little girls are naughty, they
are threatened with: "I'll make you sit with the boys."
Boys are not threatened with having to sit with the girls.
They would find it momentarily unpleasant, so I was told,
but they are freer in their movements and would therefore

857 /*140 cont.*/ be able to run away again more easily. Little
867 boys are allowed to be somewhat rowdy and boisterous during
a festival, but girls are forbidden such behavior: "Are you
[262] a boy?" an older girl then snaps at her. Little girls may not
eat a certain kind of fish so that later, when they are grown
up, they will not become man-crazy. At various festivities
[777] they receive "*pitjuru*," luck-bringing /*141*/ charms so that
when they are grown up they will marry and have many
children. The sexes are sometimes separated as early as the
[871] age of seven to eight years when children go to the religious
instructor (*guru ngadji*), where they learn to recite the Koran.
Then the girls receive instruction from the guru's wife in the
back of the house.

One of the first frustrations of children after weaning
593 is caused by adult men, especially the father. When a man
867 enters the house, women and children withdraw to the back
part of the house. When there are guests, care is taken that
the children make no noise. When an important man is in
the house, this rule applies even more strictly. Little
children who then make noise are threatened with: "He is
angry at you." An old woman repeated to a three-year-old
who quietly sat next to her, "He sees you, he is looking at
you." The importance of the situation was imparted in this
fashion; and a certain fear as well as a certain veneration
for the superior found expression in this way.

867 The difference in /social/ level between children is
554 revealed partly by what is less tolerated in one than in
another. When a *karaĕng* comes for a visit to the house of
the adat community head, his little son may run around and
perhaps even sit down behind his father, but the children of
kinsmen and servants remain in the back rooms, and the
women take care that they are quiet.

864 A little girl learns from early childhood that it is not
good to show herself naked: "Where is your sarong?" she is
asked. This applies to boys only one to two years later.

864 /141 cont./ Not until he is circumcised, at the age of seven
to eight years, will a boy always wear a pair of pants under
[304 his sarong. Adult men bathe in the nude, but in so doing
852] cover their genitals with the hand. Women keep their sarong
on when they bathe. One of the first things that a
Makassarese woman observed with surprise on Java was the
fact that there the women bathe naked in the river. A girl
always appears before her mother with her sarong. Young
girls do tease each other at the well, "almost, " when a
sarong almost slips down. But if the sarong had really slipped
off, the other would have denied this and would not have
[576] spoken about it any further. This is how a girl knows her
friends. Only those who do not like her would talk about it
to others and make her ashamed (siri').

857 Children play "marriage." They put on rags and cloths.
/142/ One of them is the bride's mother and helps the others,
and they make sand cakes. The children may begin to
quarrel and the matter often ends by a girl getting a shove
or a blow which hurts so that she cries and runs away angrily.
Sexual activities were definitely not observed. When an
almost three-year-old boy was asked: "Why don't you play
bridegroom" (buntimmako), he closed his eyes and stood
motionless. The picture of the bridegroom, but above all,
that of the bride, who, dressed in her most beautiful clothes,
remains seated motionless for hours on end with cast-down
eyes, had made the strongest impression on this three-year-old.

857 Boys and girls tend to play together up to the age of eight
858 to ten years so long as it works out. Up to that age girls
867 are also allowed to run around freely in the yard. But even
before the appearance of puberty the separation is intensified.
Boys learn that they must sit still and be quiet when the old
858 men speak. "After all, you are no longer a little child, "
867 they are told. Around the same time, thus long before the

858 /142 cont./ first menstruation, the girls are "caged"
867 (nikappara'); the separation from the other sex is thereby
completed. From now on she is also subject to the many
restrictions in social relations which obtain between men
and women in general and between unmarried men and
women in particular. "She is already staying at home"
(ammantammi ri balla') is an indication of the age of a girl
when she is around ten years old. At this time she enters
[291] the group of women, where she belongs to the young girls
(tau lolo), who are also called "the red jackets" (badju'
edja), after the conspicuous red jacket of slightly transparent
material which they wear.

867 She learns that she must withdraw at the arrival of male
visitors, that she may not be conspicuous, and that she
must lower her voice. The girl who enters the front room
(kale balla') even though there are guests is told off with a
disapproving "she dares." A girl who talked loudly was
angrily asked: "Who do you want to hear your voice?" If
[864] a girl shows her desire for a man by being conspicuous and
by talking loudly, she is considered late (man-crazy), one
of the most undesirable qualities in a girl.

857 A young girl only leaves the house in the company
867 of older women. Little excursions are holidays for her.
She dresses carefully for these occasions; she makes herself
up, blackens her eyebrows and the hairline on her forehead,
855 /143/ and powders her face. The older women guard and
protect her. In their presence a young girl is safe. If she is
alone at home or in the yard and a man enters the yard
accidentally, a dangerous situation is created because this
encounter, regardless of the intention of both parties, is
[626] considered a breach of established forms of social intercourse.
If a neighbor woman were to see and talk about it, so that
the girl's brother hears of it, the latter would feel siri'
and act accordingly.

858 /143 cont./ Boys seem to go through a difficult period
867 at the age of approximately eleven to fourteen years. Before
that, despite small differences from the girls, they were considered to be children, and as such they quite naturally
stayed in the women's rooms. But around the age of ten to
eleven, the older women make it plain to them that they
561 no longer belong there. Compared to women, however, men
have less unity. For them the difference in age plays a much
562 more important role. It prevents the smooth interaction
between older and younger men, because the older expect
561 obedience and a certain respect from the younger. The young
855 boys therefore find no unity in the group of men which makes
them feel at home. At the same time they do not possess
858 the sexual maturity to participate in the boasting conversations
about conquests and sexual achievements that are customary
in the circle of young men. They are physically not yet
strong enough to participate in brawls and great work schemes,
and therefore they cannot talk about their exploits. They do
not count among the fifteen- to eighteen-year-olds. At the
same time these twelve-year-old boys have not yet had much
opportunity to associate with each other. So they first look
for their age mates. They roam around, they are little
noticed, and they don't feel at home anywhere.

Division of Labor

462 The domain of the women is house and yard. There
they cook, wash, weave, and take care of the children.
They leave the house only to pay visits or to run over to
neighbors, who are also the closest kinsmen. When male
visitors arrive they withdraw into the back part of the house.
There is the kitchen; there they have their own separate
462 entrance. One could regard the women as a group whose
476 members /144/ help each other with daily household problems,

462 /144 cont./ whose older members supervise the younger
476 ones, and at the same time protect and lead them. This
group forms a unit with respect to the group of men, but it
does not act jointly otherwise.

462 The activities of women tie them to house and yard. Among their tasks are pounding rice, preparation of daily meals, festive meals, and offerings. Furthermore, they are charged with the spinning of yarn, weaving of sarongs, laundering and maintenance of clothes, and the care of small children. Except at harvest time women do not work in the sawahs (1).

[243] 1. A poor district, such as the vicinity of Takalar where plantings frequently have to be done several times because the first attempts fail, constitutes an exception. There the women help with planting.

[443] Older women who need a job on the side, sell home-made cookies at pasars and festivals. Sometimes they keep a small coffee warong /shop/.

177 At the present time a comparatively large number of
462 these activities have been taken away from the women.
Spinning practically no longer occurs. Commercial yarns
[283] have taken the place of homespun products. During the
Japanese period a temporary revival of spinning was note in
a number of districts where the imported yarns could not fill
the demand. Weaving decreased because of the large
[286] import of cheap sarongs. Only better ones continued to be
woven at home. Where rice mills are established, pounding
[252] at home becomes an unnecessary drudgery (2).
[256]

177 /144 cont./
256

2. As yet there is no rice mill in Goa. In the colonists' kampongs, 200 kilometers north of Macassar, the men do the pounding for the landowner, but not for their own consumption. Rice-pounding wages are high.

461
855 The spare time which women gained was not used toward new objectives. It was devoted to small children who are not let out of sight for a moment. In the house or in the yard their own mother or one of the neighbor's girls
461
574 is always with them. During the rest of the time women visit each other. This promotes companionship and strengthens their mutual ties. They exchange kampong and family news and drink coffee on these occasions. These visits are always paid in little groups of a number of older women and a few younger ones, nicely dressed, accompanied by one of their closest male kinsmen.

462 /145/ Men's work is in the sawahs in the broadest sense, from manufacturing agricultural implements to carrying in sheaves of paddy. Furthermore, it is their job to work in the garden, to construct and repair the house, as well as to do all the little tasks in which wood or bamboo must be
443
462 cut down or worked. They run errands at the pasar (1) and

1. In early July, 1949, the visitors to the Pasar Bontomanai (Borongloë) were registered as 62 women and 904 men.

443 /145 cont./ bring home necessities for the daily fare. They
462 go around alone or with a number of men of their own age.
Men and older boys are to be found together at the pasars, in
the warong /shops/, or in the livingrooms of houses.

462 The activities of men and women therefore complement
562 each other. One cannot do without the other. There exists
the notion that a man is less fortunate, as it were more
helpless, if his wife does not serve him a meal, than a
woman if her husband does not provide her with the necessities
for this meal. After all, she still has the opportunity of
getting some vegetables and fruits from the surrounding
gardens.

562 Forms of social intercourse among men differs from that
554 of women. This is evident during festive occasions. At the
576 meal the men are seated in rows according to rank and status
571 with the highest man present at the top; he talks while the
521 others eat and at the right moment burst into a laugh of
assent. One of them may know how to inspire the speaker
for another story by an encouraging comment. Not every
topic can be discussed at such a time; it must be a general
event. The narration may be boastful, and the narrator
may place himself in the center of the story since, after all,
those present share in the standing he won in this manner.
The superiors each have a bowl with side dishes before them.
Their neighbors share one bowl among two or three people,
and at the lower end, among the lower, or younger, men,
four or even more eat from the same bowl.

521 The form of social intercourse make a stiff impression.
562 Immediately after the meal is finished the men get up and
571 go in small groups to neighboring houses to chat with each
other. At that time the formal tone is abandoned.
Contemporaries seek each other's company. Now they are
free in their actions and speech.

521 562 571 576 /146/ The women eat and converse much less formally. They sit around a bowl in a small group and talk all at the same time about topics which they would also discuss at an ordinary meeting. Their manners seem less forced.

Forms of Social Intercourse Between the Sexes

571 673 834 The forms of social intercourse between men and women are tied to many restrictions. These can best be summarized by saying that every contact between them is prohibited. Contact not only refers to physical touching, but even to a word exchanged between them. Being together in the same room or even an accidental encounter without the presence of a third person may be interpreted as contact. The intention of the individuals concerned is irrelevant in such instances. Society merely looks at the outward situation; if it implies contact, people act as though a forbidden contact actually existed.

[561 858] These strict rules do not apply to children and older people (1), but they apply most strictly to unmarried girls and young men. The strength of these rules decreases only a great number of years after marriage has been contracted. Only then can individuals afford to gradually break existing rules without exposing themselves to the sanction imposed by such a transgression.

[689] This sanction consists of a stab with the badik /a small dagger/, which frequently results in death.

---

1. To be specific: individuals of under ten to twelve years and above thirty-five to forty years of age.

689 /146 cont./ Violating existing rules in this respect
184 is regarded as a challenge. Among men, one challenge is
558 frequently answered by another. But if the challenge in-
834 volves an attack upon the standing of a woman, the reaction
must be stabbing or at least an attempt to stab.

It is clear that by speaking ill, possibly just by making
521 a suggestion, the impression can be created that a certain
626 woman and a certain man were in a contact situation.
834 Children learn at an early age that this is disapproved.
People say, "It is bad if you are referred to as a 'word
former'" (2). "Word former" /147/ applies to a person who tells malicious tales.

Young women and men often evade each other
571 consciously. Both are afraid (*malla'*) of putting the other
626 into such a contact situation, because they are well aware
834 of the serious consequences. If the master of the house is
momentarily called outside, and his guest, who had been inside for awhile, were to notice that aside from him and the host's wife or daughter there was nobody else in the house, he would also go outside while mumbling some excuse. In so doing, he shows that he wants to avoid giving people even this opportunity to talk about them.

Under changing conditions, the idea that contact with
177 a man produces dangers for a young woman is assuming
834 new forms. At a visit to the movies, the accompanying
parents take care that they are seated on each side with the girls between them. At the construction of a new swimming pool, the adat community head, as a matter of course, had the dressing rooms of men and women built separately. When Makassarese women make a visit to a

---

2. In Makassarese: *Kodi punna naparupaiki bitjara.*

177 /147 cont./ store, the Arab and Chinese storekeepers in
834 Macassar know that they cannot turn directly to the young
girls to recommend their wares but that, for this purpose,
they have to address the escorting man or older woman,
while the younger ones talk among each other and thus make
their wishes known. One who does not take these feelings
into account runs the risk of being passed over at a subsequent
visit to the store.

571 The separate domains of the sexes in the house and the
834 division of labor contribute to the fact that the prohibition
against contact is carried out to a great extent in daily life.
The strict sanction imposed on their violation lends a forced
[626] character to the relations between young men and girls.
Contact may only take place in complete secrecy or, by way
of exception, if it is expressly or silently permitted. In that
case it is still tied to special regulations. There is never any
uninhibited association. Some of these occasions will be
described here.

527 After harvest, so-called pounding festivals (1) are
571
[374] regularly held. These take place during the evening in the
yard before the house by the /148/ glimmer of an oil lamp,
preferably when there is a bright moon shining. For this,
the pounding block is hung up in rattan strings, and while
[533 the girls pound, two or three of their closest male relatives
534] beat with sticks against the transverse axle of the block in
a rapid and powerful rhythm. This sound is audible at great
distances; the purpose is to attract young people from far
and near to come and look. What they see is four girls

1. Called *Adengka ase lolo*, "the pounding of the young paddy."

527 /148 cont./ dressed in red jackets, nicely made-up, and
571 decked with jewelry, pounding with precise movements, eyes
cast down. After some time they are replaced. Under the surveillance of a couple of older women, four others descend from the house and take over the pounders while the first team again goes up, always with an escort and with eyes cast down. From behind the barred windows of the front rooms -- on this occasion the entire house is the domain of the women -- they peep outside where in the half-light of the yard the men walk around, sit, talk, and smoke (1).

[273] 1. Little drinking is done. If there is rice wine (ballo'ase) present, the number of bottles
[554] is limited. Only the higher guests receive a bottle and share some of this with the others. Serious drunkenness does not occur. Makassarese who drink ballo' proceed to tell taller and taller tales and become increasingly provocative in their remarks. At such times they avoid the company of a higher person.

527 It is reported that formerly a group of young men from
579 another kampong, attracted by the provocative sounds, would
177 once in awhile make an attack and try to run away with one
571 of the young girls. This would then give rise to a general
brawl. The young men of the house group would then defend their young sisters and cousins against an attack from outside. Nowadays such a thing no longer occurs. The festival has become a comparatively dull display since fighting and

177 /148 cont./ stabbing are severely punished. The tension
527 of real danger is lacking. On this occasion there is certainly
571 no question of any contact between a young man and woman
579 since the surveillance is extra strict.

Another opportunity for contact exists at the harvest.
243 During the cutting, women remain together. Young men
462 have the task of gathering the sheaves of ears which the
571 women have cut. The passing of sheaves between women
834 and men presents a chance for contact. The man repeatedly
warns that he is coming to get the ears. A certain tension
arises from his call. The bundle is transferred /149/ by turning
the stalks of the ears toward the man so that he can
easily take the sheaf without touching her hand. A young
girl who is taking part in the cutting for the first time learns
from her older sisters or cousins how this must be done. If
[576] she hands him the sheaf in an incorrect manner, it is refused
by the young man who comes to get the sheaves. In so
doing, he indicates that he knows his manners and that he
does not want to abuse her inexperience.

571 A similar opportunity exists at a feast. At such an
574 occasion the men sit in the front room. The women hand
834 the dishes from the kitchen to the young men, who then
place them before the guests. Usually one of the middle-aged
women hands the stream of dishes and plates to the
other sex on the threshold of the front and back rooms, but
in between times younger women may also help. A young
man has no chance of contact at such times, but at least
he has a chance of seeing a girl and of being seen by her,
at least he has a chance of drawing her attention to him.

571 Secret contact in most cases takes place with the aid of
834 a third person. This must be someone who is able to talk
857 to both parties without this being noticed. Only little boys
887 of around seven to nine years of age and women above

571 /149 cont./ middle age come into consideration, for even
834 older men are suspect if they talk with a young girl. Nor
857 can a young man speak inconspicuously with a married
887 woman of around thirty or with a girl of ten,

Little boys will carry short messages, but by doing this
584 they at best keep existing contact going. The older women
602 who act as intermediary (anrong, "little mother") are in a
position to promote marriages desired by them by assisting in
the establishment of secret contacts. This is never done by
the girl's own mother; an aunt or great-aunt is the suitable
person for this.

Everyone trusts her, convinced that she has the best intentions for her niece, and therefore she can always talk with her without arousing suspicion. She is able to draw the girl's attention to a certain young man, for instance by calling him and giving him errands to run. She tells the girl that his /150/ parents had wanted to make a request on his behalf (ampasuroi) but that he had refused this, and she adds to this that perhaps he already has someone in mind (nia' tjini'na). Perhaps as a result of few opportunities for free companionship, it seems to take very little to make a Makassarese girl believe that a young man is enamored of her.

Contact is prohibited but nevertheless occurs. This is
571 proved by the regularly recurring cases of an unmarried
834 pregnant woman who seeks asylum with the village functionary,
848 as well as by a number -- though not all -- of silariang
583 cases. But not each secret contact necessarily has such an
ending. In the very first instance, the decision lies with
583 the girl. When an older woman communicates the feelings
584 of a certain young man to her and at the same time hints
at the possibility of a flight, then, if she would like to marry
him her answer is that she feels sorry for her mother because
she is the only one in the house or just that she does not want
to leave her mother and sisters because she still has so many
little brothers and sisters. She says to the older woman:

583 /150 cont./ "Please find what is good for me." And by
584 "good" (*badjika*) is meant a normal marriage; "bad" (*kodia*)
means marriage by flight. The older woman thereupon
tries out the mother. Whether this couple will subsequently
marry or not then further depends upon whether or not an
agreement concerning marriage has been made with respect
to one of the two.

584 When a marriage which she herself has desired comes
834 about, the girl shows aversion to the man, as is expected of
her. Externally, nothing distinguishes this marriage from
one that has been contracted against her wishes.

583 When older people act against the wishes of the younger,
584 and the young man urges a flight, the girl can consent to
558 this. But if she refuses, he can get his way simply by
626 making her *siri'*. In most cases the threat of *siri'* alone
seems sufficient.

584 One who is unable to use an older woman as intermediary
must find another way of establishing the desired contact
with a girl. He may, for instance, seek out the company of
her brother. He plays *raga* with him and goes with him to
the movies (this example is derived from one of the kampongs
[574] surrounding Macassar). In return /151/ his friend may ask
him to stay and eat or sleep. If he keeps this up long
enough, he may get an opportunity to attract the girl's
attention, that is to say, to perform a service for the mother
or run an errand for her, even though this reaches him
through a third person.

His intentions do not remain entirely concealed. If her
mother likes him, if no arrangements have been made regarding
this daughter, and if the information gained concerning his
kin group is not unfavorable, she may very briefly let her
daughter be alone with him unnoticed. But she remains
watchful. "Don't make me *siri'*," she says to her daughter.
584 When they are alone together, there is no immediate con-
834 versation, even less is there an immediate physical contact.

584 834 /151 cont./ But an atmosphere of intimacy is created precisely because it is forbidden and dangerous. The desire to get married seems to be strengthened by it.

584 The examples described are a number of ways in which young people try to bring about a marriage with a marriage partner chosen by themselves by means of forbidden contacts.

Personality Norms

157 562 Norms for the personality of men are different from those for women.

A man must be combative and courageous, always ready to challenge someone or to answer a challenge. He must be skillful in debate and a good teller of tall tales. In these stories the emphasis must always be placed on the fact that he, his group, or his prince, did something better than another group or a neighboring prince. In these stories he must also have great success with women and be capable of great sexual achievements. One likes to compare a man to a cock, proud and always ready to do battle. A man is sometimes conceived of as rough. He is always wandering.

562 539 157 Man is devoted to woman; he praises her in vague, idealizing terms.

Nampa' ri udjung Borinu,	When I had come to the farthest point of your land,
riappa pa'rasangannu	to the remotest point of your land,
nanailalang	then my soul was already in you,
sumangakku, makkaraëng	worshipping you.

157 562 /152/ The woman must be delicate and tender, shy and withdrawn. She is more devoted to herself. She tries, but as passively as possible, to draw his attention to herself.

157 /152 cont./

562 Bunga bunga takkakkasakku	My implanted, straight flowers,
539 Tjampaga takkakkasakku	My blooming tjampaga flowers.
Natjiniku ianu	When N. N. sees me
Nadjandjangku mole mole.	He will not be able to turn his eyes away from me.

834 To be man-crazy (lale) is one of the worst qualities that
157 a girl can have; it is said of one who, by her behavior, seems to want to attract the attention of a man to herself.

157 The above-mentioned qualities that are most prized in men are at the same time those which they need for success in
182 striving to rise, as demonstrated in the opposition phenomenon.

554 Not all men, and even less all women, possess the qualities named to an equally great degree. This influences their position in the community. Those who possess these qualities only to a small degree are poorly equipped to achieve standing in this community.

Homosexuality

838 The Makassarese divide people, as they say, into men, women, and kawe kawe (1). In reproducing the data, it will

[177
192]

1. Dutch influence is observable in the Indonesian term which is occasionally used by modern Makassarese: "seorang het, " /"an 'it' person. " -- Ed. /.

838 /152 cont./ become apparent that it is not altogether correct to translate the term kawe kawe by homosexual. Lack of a better one led me to use this translation for the time being.

The distinction connotes that homosexuality is accepted as abnormal, but nonetheless as an existing phenomenon just like an albino or a deaf-mute. In 1949 there were no men living in the kampong Bontoramba who were regarded as kawe kawe. In all of Borongloë (around 14,000 inhabitants), there may have been five. Compared with other adat communities, this number will probably /153/ seem small. The reason for
[684 this is that the adat community head to whom, as a believing
634 Moslem, these kawe kawe were already a thorn in the side anyway had threatened to cut off the hair of each one (some of them wore their hair down to their shoulders) because one of them had made a young girl pregnant. As a result many of the kawe kawe left Borongloë. Only a few stayed. I was repeatedly able to observe one of them. Here follows a brief description of his outward appearance and behavior. His name was Taking.

Taking was thirty-five years old and lived with a married brother. They were a poor household, but only when it was completely necessary did Taking work in the sawah. Usually and by preference he would spend his time in the back part of the house with the women. In his manner of sitting and speaking and in clothing he was scarcely distinguishedable from them. At the kin-group festivals in the house of the adat community head, he worked hard in the kitchen, helping with preparations. On such occasions he frequently did the unpleasant work of keeping the strongly smoking fire going, work which generally is performed by lower women. At the ritual at the climax of the festival, however, he was, along with a number of older women, relatives of the head, the one
[554 who participated in its arrangement. Both the kitchen work and the conduct of the ritual were in the hands of women at

838 /153 cont./ this festival. Lower women performed the first
554 task, higher ones the latter. Taking participated in both.

Outside the house he behaved like a man. He would go
482 on his way without escort, but whenever he was carrying something at the same time, he would do so by preference on his head (like a woman) and not on a yoke over his shoulders (like a man). When called upon as a witness in a legal case, however, he appeared completely in man's clothing with a black cap (topi), and upon that occasion had some good-natured fun poked at him. In everyday life, his presence in the women's group was accepted as a matter of course. According to my information, this dated from his childhood years. I was able to observe a little boy called Jusu at the age of about seven years. This is the age at which a difference starts to arise between boys' and girls' games.

857 Jusu by preference played with the girls of his own age. The latter permitted this without poking fun at him. A high noblewoman took him into her house and into her following. /154/ He would go with a couple of her nieces his age to pay visits and attend festivals. The acceptance of a kawe kawe into the women's group from his childhood years on explains the naturalness with which he is treated.

Details concerning Taking's sexual life could not be obtained. It was believed that he desired no contact with women. Concerning his relationship with other men only jokes were made. His reaction at the mention of anal coitus was one of decided aversion, and at the mention of mutual masturbation his reaction was neutral.

In addition to the commonly occurring kawe kawe, I once observed a woman in the adat community of Takalar who did not feel at home with those of her own sex. She wore her hair like a woman, but her sarong like a man. She preferred to work in the sawah with the patjol /hoe/ (typically male work). She carried burdens on a yoke over her shoulders the way a man does, and she would go alone to pasars and

838 /154 cont./ on roads. Her kinsmen accepted these transgressions of the sex prohibitions without further ado. Apparently they did not think of the forbidden contact situation in which she found herself.

838 793 644 From a description by Matthes, it appears (1) that in his time (around 1870) a number of bissu lived at several courts of the princes. These were men who dressed and behaved partly like women. They took care of the ornaments and performed the ritual belonging to them. One old bissu, a senile man, who was only charged with guarding the ornaments [178] still lived in the palace of the Prince of Goa in 1939. At that time women were already performing the ritual. In 1949, he seemed to have died. The guarding services had then also passed into the hands of the women.

178 838 644 The disappearance of the bissu at the courts could, among other things, be a consequence of the dawning realization that, according to Moslem law, homosexuality is prohibited. The reason that they had disappeared as much as a generation ago at one court and, at the other court, continued to exist until recently could possibly be found in the differences in strictness of religious ideas held by various princes.

838 793 /155/ Only in the little place of Segeri, 75 kilometers north of Macassar, can a number of bissu still be found to this day. There they take care of the ornament and perform the ritual pertaining to it. A number of them are married and live in their own house with wife and children. They dress

---

1. B.F. Matthes, Over de Bissoe's of Heidense Priesters der Boegineezen /Concerning the Bissu or Heathen Priests of the Buginese/.

838 793 /*155 cont.*/ and behave in everyday life completely like normal men. At the performance of the ritual, however, their dress and behavior is half-male and half-female, like that of other *bissu*. The latter, the unmarried ones, live together in the ornament house.

In 1948 the then assistant to the government linguist for South Celebes supplied me information which might clarify why *kawe kawe* prefer to occupy themselves with the ornament ritual. According to the description of the ritual, performed at the inauguration of the new head of the *bissu* (Puang Matoa), one of them leads the new head to the ornament of Segeri, a plow, and at this point he makes an announcement the significance of which the assistant reproduced as follows: "It is neither known of the person who is here brought to the sacred object and who touches it, nor of the object, who is the man and who the woman. If the sacred object is a man, then this person is a woman, and vice versa" (1).

From this it would appear that it is believed that the ornament and the head of the *bissu* must be of different sex, that the sex of the ornament is unknown, and that, therefore, only a person who can be either man or woman can be the head of the *bissu*. The general occurrence of this, albeit merely vaguely conscious, belief could explain the attraction [554] of the *kawe kawe* to the ornaments. There they found a social recognition which they lacked elsewhere.

838 Dr. Slot, who has examined a number of these *bissu* for their physical characteristics, reports that their sexual organs were completely normal; there was no question of hermaphroditism. A number of secondary sex characteristics can be called feminine. Among these he reports a hyperextendability of the elbow, little muscular development, and broad hips (2).

---

1. The Buginese original of this announcement could not be obtained.

838 /155 cont./ 2. J. A. Slot: see
Geneeskundig Tijdschrift
voor Nederlandsch Indië,
Vol. 75, pp. 811 ff.

838 548 *Kawe kawe* can be encountered in Macassar and in the large *pasar* places of /156/ South Celebes as male prostitutes who make themselves available in exchange for money for the performance of sexual acts. In some cases it appeared that these were young men who in their own kampong in the interior had a position analagous to that of Taking. They elected to live in a large place without their kinsmen rather than in their kampongs, where their activities are, as it were, constantly controlled and their sexual needs satisfied with greater difficulty.

[178] It may be assumed that the individuals who, in earlier times, showed homosexual tendencies and then found a place as *bissu* at the royal courts now populate the marketplaces as male prostitutes.

535 857 In this section on homosexuality, the Masri dance needs to be mentioned. The dancers are little boys from eight to twelve years of age. They dance in the simplest manner by tripping back and forth in a circle on a small surface and at the same time moving their hands and arms back and forth to the beat of the music. In so doing they do not strive for [534] any particular ideal of technique or beauty. A drum (*rabana*) and possibly a violin accompanies them. At the same time [533] they sing the little four-line verses (*kelong*) which are customary between young men and women. In this dance they are to a certain extent disguised. Around the head they have folded [838] a white cloth which likewise partly covers the face, thus a [832] kind of veil. The sexual stimulation which proceeds from the combination of verse, rhythm, and the little boys half-disguised as women, is the main thing.

177 535 838 The dance seems to have become known in South Celebes around 1928, and at that time it seems to have attained a

177 535 838 /156 cont./ sudden great popularity (1). The onlookers, men,
according to reports principally married men, showed their
enthusiasm by stuffing money in large sums down the necks
[648] of the little dancers. After some time the dance was
prohibited by the administration. Only after the capitulation
of the Dutch East Indies in 1942, have Masri representations
been given again.

1. So great was the interest in this dance that teachers complained about the sleepiness of their pupils during the day in school (report by the ex-teacher Noeroeddin to Dr. A. A. Cense).

The name of the dance probably betrays the land of
171 174 origin /157/ (1). Lane (2) first gives a description of a dance
by women who at the same time are prostitutes, and then
reports that the only thing which is really disapproved in it is
the fact that women perform this dance. Consequently, men
may also take the place of women as performers of this dance.
They are usually young men, accompanied by the *rabab.*
They represent women, but in order to prevent people from

1. I am indebted for this suggestion to Professor Dr. G. F. Pijper.

2. E. W. Lane, *The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians,* London and New York, 1908, p. 389.

171 174 /157 cont./ thinking that they are really women, they are dressed half as man and half as woman. Their general exterior is more feminine than masculine. They imitate women in the use of make-up, they wear their hair like women, and veil themselves.

So much for the account given by Lane. The correspondence with the Masri dance described above seems clear. However, why this dance spread to South Celebes just around 1928 remains obscure.

121 838 The data given above invite a number of observations. As a starting point, I want to take the conclusions of Kinsey and his associates concerning homosexuality. They call the "homosexual" an important subelement of sexual activity, "primarily because it is an expression of capacities that are basic in the human animal" (3).

Furthermore, I want to make use of the proposition established by Margaret Mead (4). She speaks of the social personalities of the two sexes, to which men and women in a certain culture are reared to conform, with more or less success. Among other things, she points to the fact that not all men possess to an equal degree the qualities which are

---

3. Kinsey, Pomeroy, and Martin, Sexual Behavior in the Human Male, Philadelphia and London, 1948, p. 666.

4. M. Mead, Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies, London, 1935. See among others, pp. XX ff.

121 /157 cont./ demanded of them in a certain culture, and that
838 therefore there are among them those "who have voluntarily
given up the struggle to conform to the masculine role and
who wore female attire and followed the occupations of a
woman."

It appears that in Makassarese society a number of male
838 individuals at an early age turn away from those of their own
sex and attach themselves to the girls. They adapt themselves
to these /158/ in clothing and behavior. The older ones
accept the fact that they are different from other boys. When
they get older, they continue in their attitude. This entails
certain consequences with respect to their sexual life.

Sexual contact with their female peers is regarded as out of the question. A kawe kawe is accepted as a matter of course into the group of women. If a kawe kawe comes from outside and is not yet known, then the men and old women at first watch him carefully, so I was told. In case of sexual contact with a woman, the kawe kawe is, among other things, threatened with expulsion from the group of women. Consequently, he would have to spend his time regularly in the group of men where he does not feel at home emotionally. It is possible that this fact restrains him from attempting sexual contacts with one of the women. To satisfy his sexual needs, he is therefore dependent on men.

I am not acquainted with any cases of men who became kawe kawe after they had passed puberty. The social separation of the sexes at that time may already be too great for the transition to be regarded as still possible.

838 One does find the phenomenon that men at the courts
793 partly dress and behave like women, in an institutionalized
644 way, for the ornament ritual. The possibility of the kawe
kawe to be both man as well as woman -- in social life --,
is here an imperative.

A kawe kawe tied to this institution is called a bissu. Even a "normal" married man seems to be capable of being

838
793/158 cont./ a bissu as long as he merely conducts himself
644 half as a man and half as a woman during the ritual.

The bissu institution gave a number of kawe kawe the opportunity of acquiring a social standing which they never would have acquired if they had remained in their own kampong.

The kawe kawe did not disappear with the disappearance
178 of the bissu institution, however. At present, insofar as they
838 did not remain in their kampongs like Taking, they live as
548 prostitutes in the marketplaces. However, in their kampongs the opportunity for sexual satisfaction is extremely restricted because contact with women is practically out of the question and contact with male relatives or kampong fellows is disapproved. This would easily make the migration to the
[839] pasar places comprehensible. Mutual masturbation seems to be the customary method of satisfying sexual needs.

/159/ The accentuated masculine personality idea leads
838 a number of boys to attach themselves socially to girls and women. The strict sanctions concerning contact with women force these men, once they have been accepted into the group of the women, to turn to their own sex for sexual satisfaction.

Unmarried People

114 In a discussion of the position of unmarried men and
589 women in kampong Bontoramba, it must first be indicated
885 who is included in this term. Widowers, widows, and divorced men and women are for the time being left out of consideration. For the census of 1930 the rule was adopted "that adulthood in the case of girls begins with marriageability, and in the case of boys with the ability to work" (1). Just a little further

---

1. Volkstelling 1930,
Part 5, p. 54.

114 /*159 cont.*/ on one reads that "if sexual maturity of the girls
589 is regarded as the criterion of marriageability and thus also of
885 adulthood" they would be adults at the age of about fourteen
or fifteen years (2). In South Celebes the tendency exists to

2. *Ibid.*, p. 55.

regard boys as adults if they have their own kampong pass (*soera' kampong*). This implies that they are also called for community labor. At that time they are approximately eighteen to nineteen years old. As a result of these criteria, which differ according to sex, the men are regarded as adults at a later age than women.

114 In the 1930 census report a high percentage of unmarried
589 men and women is registered for the province of Goa (28.2
per cent and 28.8 per cent respectively). It is explained that the average age at which marriages are contracted is higher than elsewhere (3). This age, however, is not known.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 66.

So long as the birth registers do not make possible a check of the age at which people are married, an explanation like this is premature.

The high percentage mentioned is, in my opinion, rather
589 to be explained by the fact that a large number of men and
women never marry.

In order to ascertain this number, I asked two informants /*160*/ at different points in time, with respect to each unmarried person, one by one, whether according to them they still had chances to marry. The result was that for 15 men and 24 women, it was assumed by both informants that they would never marry. Their opinions were divided on 4 men. These 15 men were all approximately thirty-five to forty years or older. The 24 women were thirty to thirty-five years or older.

589 /160 cont./ The total number of men in kampong Bontoramba [162] at that time amounted to 382, as against 405 women. Therefore, the total number of "unmarried people" amounts to 5 per cent of the total population, and the percentage of "unmarried" women is a little higher than that of the men. This fact requires an explanation. A number of general remarks will precede this.

589 732 Among the 15 men there were four deaf-mutes unsuited for normal work. Among the 24 women there were three deaf-mutes (1) in addition to one blind and one albino woman.

1. The large number of deaf-mutes, seven in all, is too striking to pass without comment. The nose-, throat-, and ear-doctor at Macassar, J.C. Engelen, had the kindness to examine these individuals at my request. He reported that all suffered from a form of perception deafness, a kind of nervous deafness, and that the affliction must have begun at an early age or else must have been congenital. He regarded an infectious disease suffered in childhood (mumps or measles) as a possible cause if the affliction could be supposed to have begun at a youthful age. He

589 /160 cont./ believed that a connection with the system of endogamous marriage need not be excluded, but that data were lacking to pronounce an opinion about this. These deaf-mutes are all approximately between forty-five and fifty-five years of age. Therefore they belong, as it were, to the same generation. They stem from three different pairs of parents (two brothers, a brother and sister, and a brother with two sisters). They also have brothers and sisters who are normal. They all belong to the "Kapala group."
732

Eleven men and 19 women seemed to be physically and psychically normal.

589 Lolo bangko (old maid) (2) is the customary but unflattering term applied to an older, unmarried woman. These women perform the ordinary feminine tasks in the house. The men with whom one talks about them maintain that these women would find it unpleasant if they had to marry, and that they would cry if their marriage were announced to them. These

[2] Compare B. F. Matthes, Woordenboek, p. 147.

589 /160 cont./ same men, therefore, continued to believe in the reaction expected of women when the marriage is announced to them, as the real manifestation of their feelings. In a *kelong* recited by women, one hears a different tone,
589 however:

539 /161/ *Lolobangkomi denangku;*	My friend has become an old maid;
djappomi padja bungkenna	her first sarong is already worn-out (1)

1. This refers to a custom by which the first sarong a young girl weaves, after she has just learned to do so, is kept for her bridegroom.

mattajang guru;	in waiting for a man;
mana palukka tania'.	not even a thief was there (2).

2. That is to say, she did not even carry out a marriage by flight.

589 With respect to older unmarried men, it is believed that they could have married but that they did not want to do so. People are satisfied with that; they are not urged to marry. The few older unmarried men who could be observed for some time every day, seemed like quiet, contented individuals who performed all kinds of little tasks in the house, rendered small services to their housemates, and sometimes even looked after the little children. Their standing in the group of relatives is not great. Men who enjoy status in their related group are always married. 554

589 114 /161 cont./ In the 1930 census report, the suggestion is
made with respect to the "East of the Archipelago," "that the
continued unmarried state of a woman in the native society is
regarded as more or less undesirable or dishonorable" (3). I
have been unable to find a single indication in South Celebes
pointing to the correctness of this last qualification. For the
581 woman concerned it is regarded as "undesirable" that she does
589 not marry. It is believed that only through marriage does one
become a "complete person." Attempting to bring about
someone's marriage signifies that one means well for this
person. But one prefers to see a young woman unmarried rather than
to see her marry a man who is not regarded as suitable.
[554] Suitability is judged almost entirely on the basis of his social
standing.

By the same token people prefer to see their son unmarried than to see him contract a marriage contrary to parental wishes. Not to marry may be undesirable for an individual, but it is always regarded more highly than to marry an undesirable partner.

114 583 589 565 "Among the Makassarese," the report goes on (4), "who
have strict difference between the social classes, the number
of unmarried women /162/ among the higher classes is great
because there the bride price and the "balandja" (the expenses
of the wedding feast) are so high." Now this "bride price"
among the kinsmen of the Prince of Goa amounts to 28 reals
or 56.-- guldens, and that of the small man to 20 reals or
40.-- guldens. The difference of 16.-- guldens does not

---

3. Volkstelling 1930, Part 5, p. 66.

4. Ibid., p. 67.

114
583 /162 cont./ seem worth mention. Above all, it can never
589 be the reason in this group, which is so much wealthier, for
565 a marriage not to take place.

[582] To explain the fact that the number of unmarried women in the highest class is larger than that among the people, one could at most point to the existing hypergamy prohibition.

The high costs of the wedding feast are a customary argument to explain the fact that a large number of women remain unmarried. In my opinion this is incorrect (1). If the marriage partners are related to each other (for instance, cousins to the sixth degree), one cannot say that such a marriage could not come about on the grounds of excessive costs. The expenses for a feast are expressed in amounts, and these amounts typify a certain social standing. One does not like to cut down these amounts, because then one has the feeling that this feast would be "inferior" compared with a
178 previous one.

435 When an increase in the value of money takes place, as
583 it did around 1930, a certain group could no longer afford the
585 same amount as a number of years before. The members of

---

1. The argument is also used as an "explanation" for the existence of marriage by flight. It is safer to assume that in times like those after 1929, the number of marriages by flight increased somewhat through a gradual adjustment toward new relationships with regard to money and goods.

178
435 /162 cont./ such a group did not like to admit this toward
583 the outside world, however. It is true, therefore, that during
585 this time it repeatedly happened that a marriage did not take place, on account of the amounts which in their own opinion should be spent on the wedding feast.

But this state of affairs did not last long. Initially, it was still agreed among kinsmen that the old amount would be maintained outwardly, but that in reality they would be satisfied with less. Outwardly, the social standing of the group of relatives thereby remained on the same level. But gradually the amounts were adjusted to the new conditions, though little or nothing was thereby changed in the intent of the feast or in the entertainment of the guests.

/163/ By the same token, scarcely any difference could be observed between a wedding feast in 1940 and one celebrated in 1949 in the same group, even though in that period the valuation of sawahs and buffaloes increased by about tenfold. While in 1940 one buffalo and one goat were killed for the feast, in 1949 one buffalo and two goats were killed for the occasion. In 1949 one naturally never heard the complaint, either, that a marriage could not come about because of the excessive expenses of the wedding. In its striking frequency, this complaint remained confined to the beginning of the 1930's. The high expenses are nevertheless still named today as an excuse whenever other reasons which one does not like to mention make a certain marriage undesirable (1).

162
589
587

1. Kampong Bontorambo numbered 22 widows and 13 widowers who had not remarried, that is, fully 4 percent of the total of 787 residents. Only two married men and two married women appeared

[162] /163 cont./ 589 [587]

to be remarried widowers and widows respectively. It is possible that these latter figures are in reality somewhat larger. For the investigation of this problem was made difficult by the fact that generally one finds it unpleasant to be reminded of an earlier marriage. At present, this result proves no more than that few widows and widowers remarry. The possibility is taken into account that the decease of the marriage partner is a consequence of a bad personal quality on the part of the survivor, without the latter having to be conscious of it. One is afraid that this quality will stay with him, and for that reason one regards a marriage to a widow or to a widower as a less desirable marriage. In the rare cases that such a marriage was contracted, a special ritual was performed. By this it is hoped that the bad qualities will disappear, but the chance of this happening is not considered very good.

114 589

The census report of 1930 (Part 5, p. 58) gives as the reason for the infrequent remarriage of widowers the high bride price and wedding expenses. This argument is even less valid since the widower can, if he wants to, be satisfied with a "small feast" (nikka' tja'di).

589 /163 cont./ Today, just as fifteen to twenty years ago, a comparatively large number of men and women remain unmarried. The above-mentioned reasons may be of influence upon the number of those who remain unmarried during a certain period of time and in a certain group. An explanation of the same phenomenon during this period in the lower classes must be attempted separately.

581 Marriage seemed to be one of the most important events in the related group. The older people who bring about the marriages unconsciously apply a criterion of selection in the choice of those they are bringing together in marriage. The young man of whom they expect that he will contribute to the standing of their group has preference. This must be someone, therefore, who is always prepared to outdo others /164/ and to guard against the impairment of his own standing. Outdoing
156 other men and the conquest of women are two matters which in
584 the Makassarese conception go together in a man. The young men who possess these qualities to a strong degree frequently take the initiative toward marriage themselves, however limited the opportunities for this may be. Furthermore, there is a large number of men who do not get to take the initiative and begin to refuse when their marriage is announced to them, but who in the end let themselves be persuaded. There are those who externally let themselves be persuaded but who continue to refuse sexual union and in so doing cause the marriage to fail (1).

1. See below, pp. 273ff.

156 Finally, there are a number of men who refuse to marry
589 and upon whom the parents exert little further pressure. These are the ones of whom it is believed that they would contribute little to the standing of the related group. Their fear of being inadequate in sexual relations with their wife, just as they are

156 /164 cont./ inadequate in their social relations with other
589 men, could be the reason for their refusal to marry. The fact that the older people do not consider these individuals capable of contributing to the standing of the group could be the reason why they are satisfied with their refusal.

[584] No initiative toward marriage of any kind may ever proceed from a woman. The docile, withdrawn girls are set up as an example. I believe, but would like to see this confirmed by further investigation, that among the unmarried women these docile types are still the most frequent. The more aggressive personalities who possess to a lesser degree the qualities most valued in this society seem to marry sooner. An old woman explained why a particular girl had been allowed to marry by reasoning that otherwise one might have difficulties with her later. By this, the old woman most probably was thinking of the possibility of siri' problems arising. The fact that these characters marry, while docile individuals frequently remain unmarried, points to the fact that the older people in their selections follow the path of least resistance. The types from whom the most difficulties are to be expected have a better chance of marrying.

[581] The men with the personal qualities that are most /165/ appreciated and the women with the personal qualities that are least appreciated have the best chances of marrying.

565
156
581 It is believed that the karaeng always possess a high degree of the personal qualities appreciated in a man. Their opportunities to marry are greater than those of an ordinary man; a marriage to a lower woman is a frequent phenomenon. Figures dealing with the unmarried in this group are not available, however.

The Koro Phenomenon

826
158 Koro is the Makassarese name for the disease symptom in which a man believes that his penis is shrinking and will turn

826 /165 cont./ inward, while he is convinced that he will die if
158 this should really happen (1). Koro literally means "to shrink."

> 1. The signs reported with respect to women are: the breasts become flatter, the nipples shrink, and the labia have a tendency to recede. Only women help the female patient. The phenomenon is less frequent with women than with men.

Van Wulfften Palthe and Slot regarded the phenomena as expressions of an anxiety neurosis (2).

> 2. See Geneeskundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië, 1935, Vol. 75, pp. 836 ff. and 811 ff. respectively.

[595] The description of one certain case, as it was reported by an informant, ran as follows. A man of around forty-five years of age, married and with children, had taken a second wife. He had kept this fact a secret from his first wife because he was afraid of her jealousy. After a certain length of time had elapsed, however, his second marriage nevertheless became known. One evening when he had come home tired and sleepy, he was overcome with tremors and broke out in a cold sweat of fear. He had the feeling that his penis was becoming smaller and smaller and that it was suddenly going to turn inward. Upon his shouts for help, neighbors came running in to him. One of them held the penis tightly in order to prevent it from receding, and another man went

158
826
755

158 /165 cont./ to fetch a sanro (Makassarese physician). After
826 some time had elapsed, and the sanro had performed a number
755 of rituals, the feelings of anxiety disappeared. For this day,
the attack was past.

Women are kept away from a male koro patient. It is believed that their presence would cause the dreaded event, the receding /166/ of the penis, to take place, and it is believed
[761] that in that event the patient would die. People mention without much trouble a number of instances of individuals who supposedly died of koro.

Slot reports that koro occurs among adult Makassarese and
158 Buginese of each social class and both sexes. The phenomenon
755 may appear in groups. It is not the consequence of a modified libido. The Makassarese combat it by using influences regarded as positive, for instance, by using the flowering cluster of the male lontar palm as medicine and through the avoidance of negative influences, among which the turtle is mentioned (1).

1. The thought of the disappearance of this animal's head under its shell gives the patient an unpleasant association according to one informant.

158 Finally, Slot explains that the cause of koro may be a sense of guilt, but that this cause is ethnologically determined because the admissable and the inadmissable are here differently interwoven than in western Europe. He speaks of feelings of guilt while van Wulfften Palthe believes that it is anxiety feelings that lie at the base of the koro phenomenon.

Now that the koro phenomenon has been described from
158 the psychological point of view as an expression of anxiety,
181 one may attempt to indicate from the ethnological point of
view how this anxiety can have its genesis. To this end I

158 181 /166 cont./ should like to mention the vertical tendency which demands of the Makassarese a constant striving to surpass other men and to be a great conqueror of women. The anxiety about losing the ability for this, or else of falling short in this aspiration, could very well form the basis for the *koro* phenomenon.

Prostitution

548 626 558 Prostitutes are unknown in Makassarese kampongs. There are no women under thirty-five to forty years of age who live alone without kinsmen, and if a woman lives with others in a house, it is impossible for her, for reasons discussed at length above, to receive men more or less regularly, or to have contact with them outside the house. So long as she lives in a house with others, even a single contact situation would cause the young male house mates or neighbors to become *siri'*. The older women who do not wish to risk any difficulties on behalf of this stranger in such a case will try to send her away in time -- for instance, to a head who lets her marry -- before a brawl could come about through her /167/. Once she is out of the house, there is no reason for the young men who, after all, are not related to her, to be *siri'* because of her behavior.

Her conduct impairs the social standing of her group, and for that reason she is unacceptable in the rural kampongs. There is little evidence of moral disapproval.

548 [369] Prostitution is an urban phenomenon. Prostitutes live in Macassar as well as in the larger *pasar* places such as Parepare, Watampone, and others.

The *pasar* place of Bontomanai, the center of trade for Borongloë, did not seem large enough yet to accommodate permanent prostitution. It was said of one of the daughters of a prominent man in Borongloë, who had gone to live in Bontomanai with a distant relative, that she received men who

548 /167 cont./ gave her little presents. Her father declared her dead, but her brothers did not follow his example. Consequently, there remained the threat of danger. After a few months she fled to Macassar with a man. An ordinary marriage by flight was therefore the end of the adventure of this woman who broke the ties with her parental house in order to gain greater freedom in Bontomanai than would have been possible in the midst of her own relatives.

156 548 It should not be expected that among prostitutes in the large city one will meet the modest, withdrawn types who, in the country, are held up as the ideal to the young girls. Rather one can expect among them those who submit with difficulty to the many restrictions imposed upon them. Further research would have to take place here.

I would venture to suggest that while in western Europe the innocent, misled, middle-class girl is found as well as the girl who becomes a prostitute for economic reasons, in South Celebes where no economic coercion leads to prostitution, women with aggressive characteristics, probably the adventurous type, practice prostitution.

Polygamous Marriage

162 595 As of April, 1940, there were 34 polygamous men among more than 13,000 inhabitants (1) in the adat community of

(1) There is no sense in giving figures for polygamous marriages in the kampong Bontoramba. In 1940 there were none, and in 1949 new figures could not be collected after the war for lack of time.

162 595 /167 cont./ Borongloë. In the 1930 Census Report (2) figures for polygamous men in the province of /168/ Goa are not mentioned separately. With respect to the Macassar subdivision outside the community, it is stated that the percentage of "adult polygamously married men" is low, in this case below 2. Now, if we estimate the number of men in Borongloë at 6,400, and the number of married men at a quarter of this, 1,600, then the percentage for Borongloë would be more than 2. This could still be reduced further. For among the 34 polygamously married men there are 7 foreigners, to wit, 3 Indochinese, each married to two Makassarese women, 3 Buginese, and 1 Sajjid /sayid?/. The latter, who came from a kampong situated along the southern coast outside Goa, returned there as early as 1941. Of the remaining 27, it can be said that they were natives of Borongloë.

595 For four of these 27 polygamous marriages, the second marriage was carried out in the festive way. In the other 23 cases it took place after silariang. Of these four one involved the exceptional case that an approximately sixty-year-old, comparatively poor man married, with the assent of his first wife, a young girl, who subsequently came to live in [556] the same house with them. The other three were "normal" cases in which a well-to-do man with a certain personal authority contracted a second marriage against the wishes of his first wife and had a separate house built for this second wife.

In three of the 34 cases, a man was married to three women. Two of these men, the Sajjid and a Makassarese, had been able to carry out their second, as well as their third, marriages, only by means of silariang. The third, the adat community head, had himself arranged his second and third marriage.

2. Part 5, pp. 70-71.

595 /168 cont./ In view of the fact that according to Moslem
law the conclusion of a second marriage is just as simple as
the first, there must be other reasons why so few polygamous
men were registered in this region. Such a reason is, in the
first place, the opposition of the first wife.

One of the worst things that can happen to a woman is
581 that her husband takes a second wife. One of the wishes for
558 a newly married couple is the hope that they will grow old
together. It was said of a childless old couple who had been
together all their lives that this was proof that they were
happy together, and it was regarded as a cause for rejoicing
and an example for the younger generation. In the "little
585 games" /169/ that take place during the wedding festival,
the woman must win. This reflects the wish that later she
593 will also have the upper hand in her relationship with her
husband. And in answer to the question what this referred to
mostly, it was stated that one thought of the provision of the
necessities for daily meals and the taking of a second wife.

The reaction of the first wife is very violent. She declared that she would rather be cast out than suffer a co-wife (maru) by her side. She leaves the house without the knowledge of her husband -- which under normal circumstances would weigh heavily against her -- and returns to her parents, preferably with her children. In such a case there is no intention of leaving the man permanently. A statement by one of these women leaves no room for doubt about that. When she heard that her husband had contracted a second marriage, she did not leave for the distant kampong of her parents until she had made the vow: "If I come back here, I shall sacrifice a hen to you (ancestors)." In such a case it is possible for the woman to return only if her husband comes to implore her to do so. Her desire to come back prevailed.
Sometimes, especially if the second marriage comes about
586 through silariang, her negative attitude is successful. In one
case the man went to visit his second wife less and less. The

595 [586] /169 cont./ latter, after a certain period of time had elapsed, asked for a divorce on the grounds that she was no longer being supported by him. In another case, the second wife escaped with another man (1). But sometimes the man chooses the second /wife/.

[684] 1. Officially this is called adultery, and the man should behave as though he were *siri'*. In reality he agreed to the divorce nor did he make an attempt at stabbing; nor do his relatives expect him to take the initiative which might lead to her being sentenced by the judge for adultery.

595 578 In the majority of cases, however, the first wife accepts the new state of affairs. But her relationship with her rival remains notoriously bad. Abuse, hateful remarks about the stupidity, the low blood, or about certain physical characteristics of the other woman, are common expressions of her feelings. These she airs more to her female housemates, however, than to her spouse. Older women teach her that the latter is inadvisable. In one of the old *lontar* of the Prince of Goa there occurs the following rule which aptly characterizes
[682 672] the conditions /170/: "This is the rule concerning murder. If we murder our co-wife, no matter where, and if we tell this to the people who come running to the scene, saying, 'I have killed my co-wife, ' then there will be no revenge taken upon us." (1)

1. This translation was saved as part of the prewar manuscript. The *lontar* from

595 /170 cont./ which this rule was taken
578 could not be traced down,
just as it was not possible
to find the Makassarese
text.

595 The two wives each has her own house. In 24 of the 27 polygamous marriages, the two houses were even in different kampongs. If it is said of a man that he owns two houses, this means that he has two wives. The wives live each in her own house together with their children and a single kinsman, leading their own lives. They never see each other. They are thought to ignore each other. When they go to pay visits, kinsmen take care that the one does not come where the other is. At festivals the second wife always yields to the first, but in actuality she always gets just as much of a chance to be present, even though it is just for a short period of time. In practice, the two women know everything about each other that can be regarded of any interest at all.
[521] Female "friends" tell the news, especially the bad news, that each wife wants to hear about the other. In the course of many years the sharpest edges are often worn off this relationship. The children of the one go to the house of the other with their father. An instance where the two women at a greater age visited each other from time to time remains an exception, however.

It is expected that the husband takes his first wife's feelings into consideration and that he will do nothing that could remind her of her rival. An old example is that a man must
[593] put away the contents of his betel box before he comes to the
[576] other wife, because filling this box is, all the way up to the
276] highest social circles, a special task that a woman performs for her husband, so that a woman, upon seeing the fresh betel leaves, is immediately reminded of the other woman (2).

595 /170 cont./ 2. Little betel is chewed
[178 by the generation that is
276] now thirty-five to forty
years of age or younger.

Nor does he ever name the kampong where the other wife lives as his destination when he leaves. To speak the truth would be an unforgivable rudeness. But a man who, in the opinion of his first wife, already was too much away from home was told: "When a man goes out a great deal, a wife is lazy with the cooking."

/171/ Co-wives display a stronger than normal desire to attach their husbands to themselves, in comparison with [593] monogamously married women. They make sure that the meal is ready when he comes home, that a clean sarong lies in readiness for him, and that his guests are especially well [574] entertained, since a man finds it pleasant if he is known as a good host. On the other hand, they know how to make their anger apparent to him by the same means, by letting him wait for his food, by neglecting to care for his clothes, and so forth. Among older men it can be observed that they stay for a longer time with the same wife. In the majority of cases this appears to be the first wife.

The second wife is always lower than the first; at least she is regarded as lower. This circumstance makes it easier for the first wife to be content with her existence. The great dread of a woman who was not related to her husband appeared to be the fact that now she would become the second wife because he married one of his nieces. As regards descent, however, she was regarded as his equal, and there was in every respect an acceptable reason why his niece should not be regarded as his equal.

595 The opposition of the first wife is not the only reason
606 why a second marriage comes about only with difficulty.
607 Another reason is based upon the opposition of the relatives.

595 606 607 /171 cont./ The latter feel responsible for the successful course of affairs in his first marriage, and accordingly they have an attitude of disapproval toward a second marriage, since a [981] lasting monogamous marriage is, after all, regarded as one of the ideals of a successful marriage. When a second marriage has come about through silariang, they show their disapproval and frequently support the first wife. They yield only if the man appears to have enough authority to prepare and to carry [554] out his second marriage independently with his "own people." That is to say, he has a house built for his second wife, or else he buys one; and secondly, he is able to organize a wedding festival on his own, even if it is a small feast. If a man enjoys that much standing and if he possesses that much organizational talent, then his relatives are not merely content [557] with this second marriage. On the contrary, then they even prize him because the festive celebration of a second marriage is a sign of his personal standing by which his kinsmen also rise in standing. /172/

In such a case, therefore, the first spouse can expect little support from his relatives, and only consolation from her own closest kinsmen. The latter merely try to minimize the importance of this event, which is sad for her personally, and to make her accept it as well as possible. There is no question of any moral disapproval of the man's action. Such is the situation in the adat community of Borongloë.

565 595 In the karaëng related group, more second marriages are contracted, especially with women of lower blood. These men have less resistance to overcome. In the kampongs of the ordinary man everyone wages his struggle to gain more standing, and thus for a good marriage for his children. In general, common people do not like to have a girl marry a man who is already married. But if the difference in blood is generally recognized, as it is between a karaëng and a girl [557] from one of the many groups of relatives of the people, then the latter do not feel such a marriage as a subordination, because in such a situation the girl and her relatives even rise in standing.

565 /*172* *cont.*/ standing. This is what underlies their thoughts
595 when members of the *karaĕng*'s kin group declare that lower people consider it an honor to give away their daughter in marriage to a nobleman.

A border line where people like to see their daughter or sister marry a superior who is already married, and where the superior is actually regarded as almost an equal and therefore the marriage is not desired cannot be exactly determined. The boundaries between the classes /*standen*, here statuses?/ are too vague for this.

554 Exceptional qualities are therefore demanded of a man who has two wives. Through the conclusion of a second
595 marriage he shows that he raises himself above his other relatives. This fact is not appreciated and is therefore counteracted unless he otherwise contributes particularly to
626 the social standing of the group. If this should be the case, and and if he is able to show this through organizing a second marriage independently, then it is even accepted with a certain pride. There are always a number of men with less exceptional characteristics who wish to take a second wife. The *silariang* institution gives them the opportunity of doing so without their having to ask the help of their relatives. In these cases, however, his relatives accept this marriage with greater hesitation.

/*173*/ Second Part

Sexual Union in Marriage

582 In the first part of this chapter, the criteria of selection were pointed out which the older generation applies on the basis of younger people's personal qualities in the choice of

582 /173 cont./ those whom they permit to marry. Naturally,
they cannot draw a sharp line of distinction between those
whom they do permit to marry, and those they do not;
Several factors are influential in determining the number of
589 individuals who, in a certain group, finally remain unmarried.
In each group there are a number of individuals who declare
that they do not wish to marry, and their motives in doing so
are not always clear, nor do the older people always take this
wish into consideration.

593 On account of this, it is understandable that a marriage
contract in itself does not yet signify that the newlyweds will
now also be able to find their way toward a normal married
life.

In a number of cases one of the marriage partners "does
833 not want" the other. It is said of them that they are "not
good" together. This means that one of them refuses sexual
union.

The central point of the wedding feast toward which all
585 aspirations and the interests of all are directed is the successful
union of man and wife. The purpose is that a marriage should
581 be lasting and fruitful, that is to say, that it should last until
the death of one of the partners, and that it should be blessed
with many children and goods.

586 In the discussion of a number of "divorces," it will be-
581 come apparent that if the partners have had sexual intercourse
833 only once, the marriage may in effect be called lasting. For
a number of individuals, however, it seems difficult to enter
into sexual contact with their partner. I would like to discover
the cause of this difficulty in the personality structure.

With respect to men, we could point to the anxiety of
155 being inadequate toward their partner. The rivalry with those
156 of his own sex, to which we have already pointed above, and
the performance of great sexual feats are both expressions of
personal qualities highly prized in a man and always occurring
in combination.

833 /173 cont./ The characteristics of being not good, if the not wanting emanates from the woman, are the same as when the man is the one who /174/ refuses sexual intercourse. The two women whom I was able to observe, however, lead me to suggest that the reason for their refusal is the idea that they regard themselves as too good for their husbands.

The Makassarese attitude with respect to these phenomena is different.

585 An informant named the "tete" as, in his opinion, one of the most important aspects of the wedding feast. Tete literally means "bridge." The bringing together of man and wife is regarded as a period of temporary uncertainty, and it is hoped that from this a state of lasting security will arise. Ritual is performed because it is believed that it promotes the coveted cessation of insecurity. There is always a positive
824 and a negative aspect present. This finds expression, among other things, in the names of leaves and wood types used in the ritual. Some of these have the meaning of "becoming larger," "increasing," while others mean "fending off" and "holding back."

833 We have already mentioned that the environment accepts a kawe kawe as he is. One does not have the idea that it is his fault that he is the way he is. Similarly, it is accepted of a man or woman that he (she) does not want to be "good" with his (her) marriage partner.

It is believed possible that the one who refuses sexual
833 contact has been affected by a spell /sprenk/. But people can
789 never say with certainty who it was that spoke it at best; it is only possible to suspect people of it. One proceeds from an interest that this person is believed to have in seeing the marriage fail, and one combines this with conduct observed in him or her of which it is stated that it deviates from the customary and therefore might have a special (in this case, bad) significance.

833 /174 cont./ Such a person is kept isolated from attempts
789 which are applied to make the marriage a success nonetheless.
683 In view of the fact, however, that one can never be sure that
a certain individual has not uttered a spell against the prospering of the marriage partners, one never hears of stronger reactions, such as the meting out of punishment.

Even though it is accepted of a man or woman that he
833 (she) does not want to have any sexual intercourse with his
832 (her) spouse, one does not simply rest satisfied with this
situation. After the actual wedding feast is /175/ over, one searches for ritual in order even yet to bring about the desired result.

In addition to many well-known and easily observable traits, the ritual generally has details which differ with every individual who performs it. These details need not be apparent. What makes the ritual a success in a certain case may be present precisely in the nonobservable details. It is never possible to know beforehand which detail it is that will bring success.

Different people accordingly test their powers in a case where the marriage partners are not good together. The ex-Imam of Borongloë was successful a number of times, after others had failed, when a few years after the marriage was concluded, he repeated the Moslem rite. This is called "marrying anew" (nikka' poleang). This ritual was unknown in a number of regions in South Celebes. Personal initiative in clearly observable ritual matters is to be found here.

The wedding festival consists of a multiple ritual of which
585 the subordinate elements are performed over a period of time
from 3 to 14 days and in a more or less fixed sequence.

Several actions that are forbidden in everyday life are here performed for the first time, surrounded as they are by ritual. As such we should mention the first touch of the woman by the man, the first meal together, being bathed together, and wearing a single sarong together. The older

585 /175 cont./ people attach great significance to the way in which these actions are performed by the young people, because they believe that they can discover from them the person's inclination toward the marriage partner, and upon this in turn they base the further (ritual) measures that must be taken, all of which are geared finally to the "good" union of man and wife.

562
593
In addition, little games take place during the festival, in the form of small contests between bride and bridegroom. At the same time, care is always taken that the woman wins. It is said that this is an expression of the wish that later in daily life the wife will be the boss in the house, because a couple is then regarded as happiest (1).

1. The relationship between man and wife in marriage is aptly characterized by saying that the wife stands on the index finger of the man (bainea ammentengi ri pandjodjona buranea), that is to say, that the wife must do what the man says. In actuality this idea is put into practice only with respect to certain points, for instance, where the siri' feelings play a part. A married man must therefore decide whether a sister or a sister-in-law living in the house with him may go to a festival, whether she may still go to school, and so forth. He may turn away a marriage request. In such matters he has his way. Thereby he feels responsible

562 593 /175 cont./ because, if something should happen, he is the one who would have to take action since he is the protector of the siri'. Therefore, his wife complies with his commands in these matters. But in other respects it is apparent that the woman is the boss in the house, and that the man is content with this situation. When discussions had to be conducted concerning the arrangement of a circumcision festival, the parents of the little boy to be circumcised were still too young to do this completely independently. The man's father indicated the large lines according to which the festival should be held. But he conducted these discussions not with his son but with his daughter-in-law. Only when the arrangement of the festival had been discussed in detail was this communicated to her husband, who now gave his official consent. Whenever man and wife are not agreed as to whether a large festival or a small festival should be held upon the occasion of some event or other, or if the man wants to buy a bicycle for his son while his wife wants to

562 593 /175 cont./ buy clothes, then the latter acts according to her own wishes. At such times the man becomes angry, but he soon comes to accept the situation with the sigh that, after all, these are only unimportant matters. Questions involving siri' are, in his opinion, ultimately the important points, and accordingly he makes sure that these continue to be under his jurisdiction.

585 184 /176/ No two wedding festivals are alike. The respective groups of relatives each have their peculiarities which find expression in details of the ritual. Within one and the same related group, each of the leading personalities leave their stamp both upon the organization of the entire festival, as well as upon the execution of the individual rituals. They show thereby that they can not only follow existing rituals, but also that they can add new rituals to these already existing.

Whoever has gone through several wedding festivals will have been struck by the great differences between them, as well as by the many traits they have in common. In the description that follows here of a number of subelements of the wedding ritual, I have followed, in the main, the notes that I took down at a single festival. In this case I am not striving for completeness. Otherwise the ritual would have had to be described much more fully. Behind each detail there again loom new ones.

/176 cont./

Elements of the Wedding Ritual

The Announcement

584 The announcement to a young girl that she is to marry is
made with great care. An older woman is enlisted for this pur-
[554] pose, /177/ one who herself has many children and who has
done well in this world. For instance, the wife of a kapala or
[177] someone who has higher blood coupled with personal standing.
The parents hope that some of their luck (pitjuru) will be imparted to their child. The girl is taken to the woman and is addressed quietly and in a friendly manner with a few, well-chosen words. "We intend to make you a complete person" (nipadjari tau); "we want to make you into one single whole" (nipakalepu).

When her marriage is announced to her, a girl always cries.
A somewhat simple type who remained seated quietly was even
[539] incited to do so: "Cry, child, otherwise people will laugh at
you" (ngarruko 'ndi, nakakaliko sallang taua). Not to cry is
regarded as a sign that she longs for a man.

A girl who has heard that she must marry generally draws the sarong over her head and sobbingly lies down in a dark corner of the house. She refuses all food and remains there until she is taken up by her female relatives in order to undergo a certain ritual. At that time she keeps herself as passive as possible and thereby shows that the idea of having to marry makes her very unhappy.

It is also expected of a young man that he will be sad when he hears that he must marry. Eh, tene'na, "What, is he glad," (that he is going to marry), was the disapproving reaction of an old woman when the boy remained completely quiet. The kinsmen repeatedly make remarks to him designed to put him in a sad mood. "Think of your mother." "Now you probably will no longer think of us. Now you will only call your wife's kinsmen your kin group."

/177 cont./
Water Sprinkling (appasili)

585 788 Appasili (1) is the name of the ritual in which water is sprinkled over the object of the ritual, a thing or a person, by means of a number of leafy twigs which have been tied together. It is done at various moments of the wedding festival. Thus, water is sprinkled on the vessels that will be used during the festive meals and during the /178/ setting up of the chief pole of the pannjambungi (1). It occurs also at preparations that

---

1. See B.F. Matthes, Woordenboek, p. 597.

[342] 1. The pannjambungi is the extension which is built onto the front part of the actual house on the occasion of a wedding festival. During this time it serves as the men's quarters and as a place where the male guests are received. At such a time the house proper, including the front room (kale balla'), is reserved for the women. I hope to be able to describe this part of the house in greater [114] detail later. W.H. Rassers has already repeatedly pointed out the great interest attaching to this part, the last time in his study, "Inleiding tot de bestudeering van de Javaansche kris /Introduction to a Study of the Javanese Kris/, " Mededeeling der Kon/inklijke/ Ned/erlandsche/ Akad/emie/

585 788 [114] /178 cont./ van Wetenschappen,
Afd/eeling/ Letterkunde,
N/ieuwe/ R/eeks/
/New Series/, Vol. I,
no. 8, pp. 52 ff.

precede the dressing of bride and groom when they are still in the houses of their respective parents, and it takes place when they are bathed together for the first time.

585 [593] The person who performs this ritual is frequently the "bride's mother," (anrong bunting) (2). The special appasili [342] at the construction of the chief pole of the pannjambungi is performed, however, by the person who is charged with its erection, a man who is an expert at housebuilding (panrita balla'). The appasili of the vessels is usually performed by one of the prominent older women.

585 824 [801] The bottle of leafy twigs consists preferably of seven different kinds. These are usually the same kinds, but sometimes variations are introduced. The names of the leaves of one particular bundle were: 1. buagang, 2. palidi, 3. parempasa', 4, loë, 5. leko sirih, 6. riu, 7. pattene. The first four names all indicate defense (1), the last two have

---

[602 838] 2. The "bride's mother" may also be a man. In that case he helps the bridegroom. Kawe kawe likewise perform this job.

585 824 789 1. These names are rapidly recited, one after the other, when they are used as a spell. They are also reported thus by Matthes. Compare B. F. Matthes, Woordenboek, p. 223:

585 824 789 /*178 cont.*/ "The medicinal plants *bowagang palili*, *parempasa'*, and *lowe* are all able to defend against evil." *Palili* means: "cause to get out of the way" (*Ibid*., p. 223) *Parempa'* means: "to ward off" (*Ibid*., p. 122). Of "*lowe*," Matthes states that it is an old name for the "*nagasari*," a shrub that was also used for fences (*Ibid*., p. 373). The word *buagang* has the same meaning. When a kampong head, after a theft, turned to someone with the words, "If the thief is found in your house, you yourself will also be punished," the reaction was: "*buagang*," that is to say, "May that misfortune not overcome me." [672]

the meaning of "gay" and "sweet" respectively.

585 The water used for sprinkling comes from a pot. In the pot it has already undergone ritual treatment. At the bottom of the pot there lie some money, a number of betel leaves folded [824] in a special way (*kalomping*), and an appropriate number of pieces of areca nut. This water has been made pure (*badji'*, literally, "good"). The burning /179/ incense vessel (*padupaang*) has been moved around it, puffed rice (*bente*) has been scattered over it, and a spell has been uttered during the ceremony. The object of the ritual is now sprinkled with this "good water" while a spell is uttered again.

/179 cont./

585 783

Steaming

Steaming (barumbung) is a ritual which prepares bride and
groom for their future union. At that time they are still each
in his own house. Under the house a pot with water is placed on
[801] the fire, and seven different kinds of leaves are placed in it.
The steam is conducted upward through a hollow bamboo pipe
toward a hole in the floor in the hindmost part of the house.
The bride (or the bridegroom) is seated above this hole, completely wrapped in a sarong. The bride's mother scatters puffed
rice over her and moves the incense vessel around her, three
times one way and once the other. While doing so, she
mumbles a spell. When the bride has sat in this way for some
time and has perspired profusely, she is bathed. This is repeated
for three days on end. It is believed that in this way even the
evil that is deep within her will come out with the sweat so that
only the good will remain. It is hoped that thus she will be
able to face the coming period of uncertainty in the best
possible condition.

Plucking the Eyebrows

The plucking of eyebrows (bubu') is likewise done before
303 585 the couple is brought together. On this occasion the bride's
mother removes the hairs which would make the eyebrow "not
good." It is believed that a person's character is revealed in
826 his glance, and also by the features around his eye. In view of
828 the fact that even an exchange of words between young men
[834] and women is prohibited, the casting of glances is practically
the only thing that can be done with impunity. The slight
arching of an eyebrow and lowering of the eyelids have their
significance. To be greedy of eye (balala matana) is regarded
585 as an inferior quality of a young man. In this ritual the im-
826 portance of the eye and the play of the eyes accordingly finds
832

585 /179 cont./ expression. At the moment, so important for the
826 individual, when he meets his marriage partner, "the eye and
832 its environment" must be as good as possible, as one informant expressed it. /180/

585 Awaiting the Karuntigi Leaves

Awaiting the karuntigi leaves (amatamata karuntigi) (1) is,

1. B.F. Matthes, Woordenboek, p. 246.

in the first place, regarded as an important social event. On this occasion the bride (and likewise the bridegroom, each in his own house) sits on the wedding bed. It is the eve of the Moslem wedding. Many guests are present. Next to the bride a sister or cousin, as well as the bride's mother and a number of other older women are seated. All of them are in festive dress. They help the bride, fan her with cool air, move a hand, place a leg differently, or change the position of her head, so that she will not get any cramps in these parts of her body. For a bride must remain seated passively, completely immobile, and
[534] with downcast eyes. The incense vessels burns, the drums are
533] beaten, and rojong songs are hummed. Before her stand a number of little bowls. One of these contains the finely cut leaves of the karuntigi (2), a second contains oil, a third powder,

[824]
[822]

2. The leaves, it is always stated, are of a reddish color. Red is the color of fire and life. Personally, I have never been able to observe anything but an ordinary green color. The leaves are chewed beforehand.

and a fourth water.

585 /180 cont./ The higher guests come at this point and stand
before the bed, one after the other. They take some karuntigi
between their fingers, mix this with oil and powder, and amidst
the mumbling of a spell, they smear this mixture on one of
the fingers, on the arm, sometimes on the forehead or the neck
of the bride. The place where the mixture is applied and the
777 manner have their significance. However, this ritual is not
554 performed by all the guests, but only by the higher and by a
887 number of older ones who themselves have many children and
many sawahs, in other words people who seem to possess much
"pitjuru" (luck-bringing means) and who now, on this occasion,
want to transfer something of this to the bride. When a great
554 number of guests come "akkaruntigi," this raises the social
standing of the host.

In the afternoon of the day following the "akkaruntigi,"
178 the bridegroom leaves -- according to a very old, but at present
no longer observed, custom from the lap of his mother --,
amidst a great deal of lamenting on the part of his relatives,
for the bride's house in order to arrive there around sundown.
Only men are present on this occasion. On the way and
especially upon arrival at the bride's house, a loud dikir is
heard. It is said that formerly at that moment a greeting of
welcome was addressed to the bridegroom by one /181/ of the
wife's relatives who for this purpose stationed herself at the
top of the ladder in front of the door opening. The only time
178 that I experienced this a certain embarrassment could be sensed.
This was considered very old-fashioned. The number of those
in Borongloë who are familiar with this address is small. The
Pinati of Bontoramba gave me the text here reproduced, independent of any festival. The four-line verses reported at the
end, in which bridegroom and bride are introduced speaking,
were actually incorporated into the address, according to him.

126 The text was checked for uniformity in spelling with the
585 assistant to the government linguist for South Celebes. The

126 585 /181 cont./ latter here followed the system suggested by Professor A. A. Cense. In the translation, I tried to transpose the frequently figurative text into as good Dutch as was possible. It was not my intention to take strict responsibility for the translation.

585 539

	Pakkio' bunting	Address to welcome the bridegroom
1.	Iadende', iadende',	Happily, happily,
2.	nia' todjemmindjo maë	there now finally comes
3.	bunting salloa kutajang,	the bridegroom whom I have been expecting for such a long time,
4.	salloa kuminasai.	for whose arrival I have been hoping for such a long time.
5.	Nampako riudjung borikku, riappa' pa'rasangangku,	Now that you have come to the outermost point, to the border of my land,
6.	nakurappoiko tjini', kutimbarangngiko pangngai.	I give you my best wishes and my love.
7.	Nampako kuasseng nia', nakuitungko labattu,	Now I know that you are there, that you have really arrived,
8.	kunragi memang berasa' ri- mangko' kebo',	I am preparing four-colored rice in a white bowl, /182/
9.	kummatta memang rappobau' ripalakku,	then I will hack a betel nut into little pieces on the palm of my hand,
10.	kunnanro memang kalomping ritalang bulaëng;	and I will place a folded betel leaf on a golden bowl;
11.	kutongko intang, kubelobelo djamarro';	and I will cover all this with jewels and adorn it with emeralds;
12.	intang matjora massingarri dallekannu,	glittering diamonds shine upon your face,

/182 cont./

13.	bulaeng ti'no' assuloi pattjini'nu.	pure gold illuminates your visage.
14.	Lakukapeangko anne sumanga'nu mabellaja,	I will wave to your soul which is far away, to turn around,
15.	lakukiokangko pole tubunu 'lampa salaja.	I will call back for you your body, which is wandering around aimlessly.
16.	Badji' kuallekonne bunga-bunga tamalate;	I draw you toward myself like a flower which will never wilt.
17.	late bunga, tamalate tjinikannu.	A flower wilts, but one can never get enough of looking at you.
18.	Kutannangkonne tope talakka' riaja';	I shall make you into a sarong that will always be warm.
19.	lakka' tope tamalakkakko ikau.	A sarong may become loose, but you stay.
20.	Sangkontu sanrapammamako bulang sampuloa ngngappa',	You are like the full moon,
21.	nasusung pale, natinriang wari-wari;	with the evening star by its side which at the same time is accompanied by the morning star; /183/
22.	wari-wari kapapasang, pale mannuntunga bangngi.	a morning star which shines through to day break, and an evening star that continues to glitter throughout the night (1).

1. Thus something special, something that has never before been seen.

/183 cont./

585 539 23.	Nisailenu kau, tamalladjunu nitjini' ma'mole-mole.	One looks at you, one never gets enough of looking at you.
24.	Kukio' Daëndjakondjo, kukanro ana' karaëng.	I call you a man of the nobility and honor you as a prince.
25.	Nutuli manai'mo maë riballa'na matoannu, rituka'na ipara'nu,	Come enter the house of your parents-in-law, along the steps of your brothers-in-law and your sisters-in-law,
26.	matoang tuna, ipara' kamasemase;	your lowly parents-in-law and your pitiable brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law;
27.	mangngondjottommakonne tuka' tallu anronna, patampulo baringanna; [554]	go along the ladder with the three uprights and the forty rungs (2);

2. These and the following references point to the fact that here one is in the house of a very prominent man.

28.	mandjapputtongko pole tjottjorang nita'-buta'bu;	hold on tight to the banister of the ladder, which is divided into joints like sugar cane;
29.	nutuli manai';	climb steadily upward;
30.	mannjorong pakke'bu nigiring-giring;	push against the door which is provided with little copper bells;
31.	mangngondjot tongko dasere' nidjaling kawa', nia'lanro bassi kalling;	step onto the floor boards which are tied to the transverse boards by means of wire;

/183 cont./

585
539

32.	mateteongko pallangga nibatang rappo;	also run across the beams of the floor that are made of the stems of the areca;/184/
33.	mannosotongko padongko' nitau-tau	pass under the large attic beam which is provided with a few upright beams;
34.	nutulimo kalau', rawanganna timbaonu, ammempo ribenteng polonnu.	walk on to the west (that is, the high part of the house), and sit down under the canopy of your bed against the smoothed head pole.
35.	A'lapara' tappere' bo'dong;	Sit down on the round little mat;
36.	andjo'djo kari kanang;	just point out, left and right, what you desire;
37.	mansuro-suro rapannu, mampattudju sangkammannu.	just send off your equals to run errands; let them work for you.
38.	Naremba-rembako pole ana' rara patampulo;	Forty young girls will keep you company;
39.	nisarimanangko pole lonrong beru ma'bakka';	you will be helped and served by adolescents;
40.	benteng polong kanasako, kanako benteng pakkai', kai' topena pasikaiki badjunna.	?
41.	Nai' manaung tunibarangbaranginnu; assulu' antama ata maballa' balla'nu.	Your pledgees will run back and forth; your household slaves will go in and out.
42.	Numa'djarang, numattedong, numa'djangang rassi lerang;	You will possess many horses and buffaloes, as well as a coop full of chickens;

/184 cont./

43.	nakatumbangngangi pole palampang ase berunu;	you will pile up so much young rice that the barn in which it is kept will collapse; /185/
44.	nakatepokangi padongko' ase toanu.	you will possess so much old rice that the great ceiling beam will break under its weight.
45.	Tamanraikko ri Ambong nukoasa;	You do not travel on Ambon and yet you are mighty (1);
46.	takalaukko ri Djawa, nukalumannjang;	you do not travel on Java and yet you are wealthy (1);

1. The meaning is: "you do not trade, and yet you are mighty or wealthy."

47.	tama'botoroko numammeta.	you do not gamble, and yet you win.
48.	Assare-saremako sallang rimatoang kasi-asi,	You will also help your poor parents-in-law,
49.	appiturummako pole riipara' kamase-mase.	you will also give something to your pitiable brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law.
50.	Nai'tuannu, ssalla' dasere' dalle'nu.	Your good fortune rises upward between the boards of the floor.
51.	Kuminasaidjakondjo sunggu; kutindjakkiko mate'ne;	I hope that you will be fortunate; I make the vow that all will go well with you;
52.	nusunggu todjeng numate'ne todjentodong.	and see, you are really fortunate and things are really going well with you.

/185 cont./

585
539

53.	La'bu bannang ri Djawa, mala'buang umuru'nu;	Long is the thread from here to Java, but even longer will be the duration of your life;
54.	luara' tamparang, luarangngang nawa-nawannu;	wide is the sea, but more expansive are your thoughts;
55.	tinggi Bawakaraëng, matinggiampa tuannu.	high is the mountain the Bawakaraëng, but even higher is your good fortune. /186/
56.	Le'ba' gentung timbaonu, le'ba' tantang pakkalli'nu;	The canopy of your bed has already been hung, and the curtain of the bed has already been drawn;
57.	timbao nikida-kida, pakkalli' niura' tallu.	the canopy is adorned with golden spangles, and the curtain is provided with three strips.
58.	Le'ba' basami ba'ra'nu, le'ba' gusu' langiri'nu;	The powder for your face has already been moistened, and the water for the washing of your head is even now ready for use;
59.	tattannangi pole tjapparu pa'minnjakkannu.	the pot with hair oil, which is destined for you, stands even now in readiness.
60.	Nutulimo ntama ribili' kamua liku, kamua kallangngang rapa';	You will enter a little room that is pitch dark and seems like a whirlpool.
61.	mannoso' badang; mannimba' bangkeng patjiko.	you will penetrate a body; you will open the rim of the hole.

/186 cont./

585
539

62.	Nukana-kanami sallang saraka ripamminangngang;	You will recite the formulas of the bed;
63.	tappau'-pau'mi pole bungabunga rikatinroannu.	the flowers in the bed spread their scent.
64.	Nusipoke-poke genre, nusita'ba' rappo toa;	You will extend to each other the folded betel leaves, and you will throw ripe areca nuts to each other;
65.	nusipattoa-toai, nusipa'loaloai, nusipattjammo-tjammoi;	you will grow old together, and you will live together until you are forgetful and toothless;
66.	sitanro takkang, sibuttju' pa'dengka-dengka.	until you will give each other a cane and until you throw an areca pounder toward each other. /187/
67.	Lino-linopi anging, pakkeke mappasisa'la'.	Only after everything has become quiet (when the wind has died down), will you be separated by death.
68.	Numammana'-mana' sarre,	You will get children just like the *sarre* plant (1),
69.	numa'borong unti-djawa,	you will form a forest of of pisang *djawa*,
70.	numattju'la' ase-bakka'.	you will have offshoots just like the rice plant that is called *ase-bakka'*.

[824]

---

1. Names /sic/ of plants that are well known for their many offshoots and rapid increase.

/187 cont./

71.	Pinruang tudju, pintallung tassalapangngi.	Two times seven and three times nine.
72.	Manai'ngasemmi maë Anrongguru ningainu, Gallarrang nipangngalikinnu, Kapala nipaemponu,	They will all come to your house, your respected heads, your adat community heads, for whom one has respect, and your kampong heads, who are gladly welcomed,
73.	battungasemmi pole bidjannu pammanakannu, bella-bella mbani-bani, tja'di-tja'di lompo-lompo, ana'-ana' tau toa.	all your kinsmen will come from near and far, big and small, old and young.
74.	Nipanai'mako ripangkapangka bulaëng,	You will be brought to a golden palace,
75.	nipaempomako ritappere' paramadani.	and you will be made to sit on a beautiful carpet.
76.	Badji' nangai Na'bi, napudji Alla Taäla.	The Prophet loves you, and God praises you. /188/
77.	Sipoko' bu'ne tantanna dje'ne' matannu;	Just as a berry tree drops its fruit, so there will be many tears shed for you;
78.	sipoko' tjamba pammatti'na iloro'nu.	you will be envied just as a tamarind tree is envied its fruit.
79.	Kupattannangngangkonne anggoro' rigantironu;	I will plant a vine for you under the outermost lower edge of your roof;
80.	kupa'lamungangko pole lemotanning ridolangang,	I will also plant a djeruk tanning for you in the middle of the open sea,

/188 cont./

585
539

81.	nakatjinnai Somba, napammattikang iloro' Bate-salapang.	which even the Prince himself will covet and for which the mouths of the members of the Royal Council will water.
82.	Bunting nilekkakko paleng tunipalele bellakang;	Now you will really go away, bride (1), you will change houses;

[591
795]

1. Here the one who speaks turns to the bride. It is a custom that after the Moslem marriage ceremony the couple goes to the house of the bridegroom's parents, at least for a few days.

83.	niĕrang ri bori'maraĕng, pa' rasangang nampa nuondjo'; bori nampa nula'bakki.	you will be brought to another land, the land which you will enter for the first time; the land toward which you are traveling.
84.	Nukamma todong djonga,	You resemble a deer that anxiously peers over the hedge,
85.	mattoa' ri sampa' mangagajangan tunumalo.	which shyly looks at the passersby.
86.	Nakana kelonna Daĕng bunting bura'nea: Nampa' lampa riballakku, nakudjoli pakkibukku, nakugulung tapperekku kupattantuna, kalengku lammantang puli.	The song of the bridegroom goes: Now I am leaving my house, now /189/ I am locking my door and rolling up my mat, because I am convinced that I shall not return.

/189 cont./

585
539

87.	Nakana kelonna Daēng bunting bainea: Takundjunga' sallo lolo, kurunrung balu baine, tamammonea', tope taero'na mmakku.	And the song of the bride goes: It is not for nothing that I intentionally remained unmarried for a long time. I accept no tope whom my mother does not love.
88.	Nakana pole kelonna Daēng bunting bura'nea: Ka'de' kutjini' Batara, kudupai allo-allo, nadjo' djokangku, lebanga ripa'maikku.	The song of the bridegroom again goes: If I should see God, I would burn incense for him every day since He has shown me the one whom I love.
89.	Nakana kelonna Daēng bunting bainea: Kade' nania' erokku, tea' sadju' risa'bea', tea' salasa ri badju montjong buloa.	The song of the bride goes: If I should have a wish, then it would be: do not make the silken jacket unhappy and do not disappoint the green jacket (1).

1. The jacket here represents its wearer: a young girl, therefore the speaker herself.

90.	Nakana pole kelonna Daēng bunting bura'nea: Nampako mattju'la' lebong, nakurompong-rompong memang lompoko nai', kutambai pa'rompongku.	And the bridegroom in turn says: And if then you grow up like a young bamboo, then I will take care that no one will come near you (2); when you are fully grown I shall strengthen my protection.

585
539
[241]

/189 cont./

2. Young bamboo shoots are protected against goats and buffaloes.

91.	Nakana kelonna Daëng bunting bainea: Apa kitjini' rinakke, nakke le'leng nakke kodi, nakke tja'di simbolengku.	And the bride says: What do you see in me? I am dark and ugly, and my hair knot is small. /190/
92.	Nakana kelonna Daëng bunting bura'nea: Manna le'leng manna kodi, manna tja'di simbolennu, titti' matangku, kala'busang pangngaingku.	And the bridegroom says: Even though you are swarthy and even though you are homely, and even though your hair knot is small, you are the apple of my eye; after you I will love no other.
93.	Nakanatosseng kelonna Daëng bunting bainea: Sikatutuiki' tope, narisassa mole-mole, taënamonne, parekanna maloloa.	And the song of the bride goes again: Together we shall take good care of our common sarong; we shall wash it repeatedly; my work as a young girl has now come to an end.
94.	Nai'ngasemmaki' maë.	Come in, all of you (1).

1. Literally, "Come upstairs, all of you."

The Wedding Ceremony According to Moslem Rite

585

After this address or, in the case where this address is not recited, when the dikir is held up at the foot of the house steps, 585 /190 cont./ the bridegroom goes up the steps and into the house. At the high side of the house in the front room the bridal bed is usually made up. On this the bride is seated with her back turned to the entrance. Behind her the bridegroom takes his place. Immediately after this, the Moslem wedding ceremony (nikka') is performed.

The Imam of the adat community who performed the
793 wedding ceremony here described recorded in Makassarese in
585 detail the points of the ceremony that he considered the most
015 important, after the ceremony had taken place. The translation
126 of his report follows here.

'When I was about to marry Rahimi and Sija I asked
585 Rahimi's best man what the name of the bridegroom was, and
Bandong (2) answered: 'the name of the bridegroom is Rahimi.'

2. The best man's name.

"Thereupon I asked: 'What is the name of his father and of his mother?' And then Bandong answered: 'Rahimi's father is called Palu, and his mother is called Sati. Both are still alive; they live in Bontobaddo (3).' /191/

3. Name of a section of kampong Bontoramba.

"Then I further questioned Malla (1): 'What is the name of the bride?' And Malla answered: 'The name of the bride is Sija; I am her father, her mother is called Sani; she is deceased.'

1. Name of the bride's father.

"Thereupon I again asked Malla: 'What is the amount of the sunrang?' And Malla said: 'Twenty-four reals.'

585 /191 cont./ "And I asked further: 'How was the *sunrang* paid?' And thereupon Malla answered: 'Eight reals in cash and one section of a sawah situated in Bianreng (2) bordering in the north on the sawah of Rapi, in the west on the sawah of Bagenda, in the south on the sawah of Djumadi, and in the east on the sawah of Genda. This sawah was given for an amount of 16 reals.'

"Thereupon I took the bridegroom's thumb in order to conclude the marriage.

"I asked Malla: 'Do you consent to the marriage of these two?' And Malla said: 'It is good.' Three times I asked this.

"After that I performed the ceremony. As witnesses there were Djuma, the guru of Bontoramba, and Massulukang. I held onto the hand of the bridegroom and recited the vow [534] before him: '*Asjhadu anla Ilaaha Illallah wa asjhadu anna Muhammadan Rasulullah* (I truthfully testify that there is no other God than Allah taäla; and I also testify that the Prophet Mohammed is the messenger of God).'

"Subsequently I said: 'I pronounce you, Rahimi and Sija, the daughter of Malla, man and wife; your *sunrang* amounts to 24 reals.'

"And Rahimi said: 'I agree to be joined in marriage with Sija. I am paying a *sunrang* of 24 reals.' Three times he said this.

And the witnesses said: 'We agree.' Thereupon I let go of his hand. Rahimi was then conducted to his wife by Bandong in order to make her fortunate by his touch. The upper arm of Sija was touched by Rahimi.

The *kampu* was placed before me. It contained: 20 betel leaves, 2 areca nuts, limestone, and by way of wedding money, 8.25 guldens (8.-guldens in paper money and 25 cents). I gave 1.-gulden to each of the witnesses.

---

2. Name of a sectionof kampong Bontoramba.

585 /191 cont./ Thereupon I was asked to come and eat outside in the pannjambungi."

So much for the Iman's report. /192/

The First Touch

As has already become apparent from the Imam's report, the best man (tau lalangang) takes the bridegroom by the hand immediately after the nikka', and leads him to his bride, who is seated a few meters before him on the ground with her back turned toward him. Here he touches her for the first time in the presence of all kinsmen and guests. Older women have previously talked to him and told him that he must be gentle and friendly with his bride because his luck is dependent upon this in his later life. At the same time they also tell him what is expected of him at the moment of this first touch. The spot where he touches her (arm, neck, cheek, or ear, and so forth) and the way in which he does this (calmly, gently, indifferently, angrily) are considered important in this connection. From this, the older people deduce the young man's feelings with respect to his wife, and at the same time they determine on the basis of this how she will henceforth have to conduct herself toward him, scolding, instructing him further, and so forth.

The Pushing Game

585 This same evening "amèsu" sometimes takes place. This
524 is a "pushing game" (1). The guests sit around in a circle; the higher guests sit in front. Within the circle is the couple, likewise seated upon the ground. One of the higher guests knocks on the ground. The couple must push themselves toward him in

---

1. B.F. Matthes,
Woordenboek, p. 697.

585 /192 cont./ a seated position. The one who reaches him first
524 receives a "pitjuru, " a luck-bringing object, sometimes in the
form of a coin or ornament. However, care is always taken
that the woman wins. On the other hand, she is not allowed to
win directly. If she or her husband is very close to the one who
knocked, another one will knock who is seated at the other side
of the circle, and then they must again push themselves thither.
But once the highest guest has knocked upon the ground, no one
knocks anymore. He does this only when the man does not have
a chance of getting to him first, so that the bride therefore receives
the pitjuru from him. "Amèsu" is, therefore, as it were,
a game in which the young couple compete with each other,
but whose outcome is already fixed from the outset. It is compared
[554] to a cock fight. It only takes place when there are high
guests present at the festival. It is pleasant for the person who
gives the festival if "amèsu" takes place, for that means that
he had /193/ high guests, and that means that he is in their
favor. For the young man, this pushing competition is unpleasant
[522] because he always loses to his bride, and people openly
make fun of this.

The First Joint Meal

585 The day after the nikka', man and wife for the first time
"eat" together. Ritual and play are here closely interwoven.
There is no question of ordinary eating. One of the older women
takes a handful of rice with coconut oil and sugar, briefly holds
this above the incense vessel, mumbles a spell over it, and then
gives this to the young woman to eat. Coconut oil, that is to
[824] say, fat, is a symbol of wealth; sugar is a symbol of love and
sweetness. She is told to bring this handful of food momentarily
to her mouth, and then to offer it to the young husband seated
next to her. The people around watch to see how he reacts.
If he opens his mouth quickly, this means that he likes her.
"Your cock is conquered, " the men at that point laughingly

585 /193 cont./ comment. But if he hesitates or turns away, he is urged to accept the food. For, ultimately, the older people like nothing better than to see him lose, and it is believed that he loses if he does what his wife demands of him, namely when he accepts food from her.

The First Joint Bath

Again a few days later the couple is bathed together for the first time. Here, too, ritual and play are of more importance than the fact of the bathing itself. Together, the couple sit -- the woman wrapped entirely in a sarong -- on the house steps, which in daily life forms the link with the attic but which for this special occasion has been placed on the floor in the pannjambungi (1). Under the rungs of the ladder lies a cleaver as well as one of the sections of the loom, objects which man and wife respectively always need in performing their daily activities. According to informants, /194/ the significance of this is to further the wish that man and wife will now also

[342] [251] [769] [417]

1. The attic is an important place in the house. There the rice is kept. In case of shortage of living quarters, the young girls are sometimes housed there. The ancestors descend through it when they are implored to do so in a ritual manner. The ladder to the attic has a special form. The two uprights proceed from a single branch that rests on the floor and which splits into two, approximately 40 centimeters above the floor.

585 /194 cont./ become familiar in these common things. The content of twice nine young coconuts are now poured out over them, and the passili ritual is performed on them (1).

> 1. This bathing festival generally takes place three days after the arrival of the bridegroom in the house of the bride. During almost three times 24 hours, the bridegroom is forbidden to step on the earth outside the house. If he violates this prohibition he is scolded: "Why do you do that? Do we have to become unlucky?"

Thereupon they must "see which of them is the first to
have the ground under their feet as they get up from the
ladder." Whoever wins will be boss in the house in their
[493 marriage. The bridegroom usually runs right across the
562 pannjambungi down the front steps. The bride is quickly
carried to her little room where a lump of earth has previously
been placed in readiness. It is always declared that the bride
has won even though it is practically impossible to ascertain
the actual outcome. But nobody is interested in the latter
anyway.

After this the couple goes to spend a few days in the bridegroom's house. There festivities again take place, and subsequently they again return to the wife's house.

Being "Good"

Another small family festival takes place there, /in the wife's house/ in conclusion, a week or two after the nikka'. This

585 /194 cont./ festival is the being "good" of man and wife (pabadjikang). There are no further guests present on the occasion. Only the mutual housemates of man and wife are invited. Together the young man and wife are seated on the bridal bed (2). The wife has betel and areca nuts in her hand.

[482 554] 2. The woman was carried to the bed by her oldest brother. A second brother carried her back again at the conclusion of the ceremony. These brothers evidently regarded this as an honor.

He must ask her for them; she must surrender them to him. In public, therefore, she complies with a request made by him. If she begins by refusing, she must be "bribed" by him. He promises her a present. Sometimes he is urged to take the betel and areca nuts away from her forcibly. The element of competition becomes clearly apparent here. Just as in the case of the eating ceremonial, comments are made by those present. Here the man must win in the end. He must obtain the betel and areca nuts since this indicates that man and wife are "good" (badji') with each other, and that is ultimately the purpose of the entire wedding festival.

The pabadjikang was not celebrated in former times, [178] according to one of the informants, unless sexual intercourse had already taken place /195/. At present it is celebrated, at least in Goa, even if no sexual contact has taken place, as for instance in the case of a child marriage.

585 833 Several men who had been married for years stated proudly that they had immediately been "good" with their wife. By this they meant that shortly after, possibly the very evening of the nikka', coitus had taken place. Here physical prowess

585 /195 cont./ is not the issue, but rather the tactfulness in
833 getting the wife to perform the sexual act. They had thus satisfied
the wishes of those around them. Their masculine pride
[156] was flattered because they had shown that they were good
conquerors of women. This characteristic is particularly prized
in Makassarese. A woman always shows herself averse to a
man, even to her husband. It is the latter's art to win her for
himself through a pleasant outward appearance, a well-chosen
word, a strategic touch, and very little physical force. That
is how the ladies' man Sawerigading (1) does it.

1. See R. A. Kern,
I La Galigo, p. 333.

The art of conquering women that Sawerigading possessed
to the highest degree is at most held up as an ideal to the
young Makassarese. Even before the wedding ceremony takes
581 place according to Moslem rite, one of the older women conducts
593 a number of conversations with the bridegroom. She talks,
521 and the young man listens. She tells him that it will be difficult
for him to make his wife happy, but that his happiness in
his future life will be dependent upon this. She also tells him
that he must not be rough with her. She asks him whether he
knows what he must say to his wife later on and whether he
knows what to answer when she asks him something. She tells
him what questions he can expect and what his answers should
be to them. They do not like to talk about this. I could only
obtain a single example of this. "Where do you place me?"
(*Keremaë nupatinro*) was given as an example of such a question,
and the answer was supposed to be: "I place you above me"
(*Irateangkuko*) (2).

2. It is possible that the only
informant who drew my
attention to these questions

521 581 593 /195 cont./ and answers owed them to *tarekat* influence, and that therefore they are not in general use. Elsewhere, people denied knowledge of their existence. Nevertheless, a report of these questions and answers seems to be in place here.

521 585 Such a conversation between older woman and bridegroom bears an intimate character; it is regarded as of great importance for the future /196/ life of the bridegroom. The older one must have the confidence of the younger. The bride learns the questions and answers from one of her kinsmen, suitable for this instruction, and if the man and woman concerned are not related to each other, the older people establish contact concerning this matter in order to be sure that enough of a connection exists between the questions and the answers.

This conversation conducted in whispers between older and younger persons is not so intimate that an older man might not interrupt it with the question, "Are you being examined?" And there is general laughter. All the older people know what [831] the two are discussing there. The instruction given to the young man is not so serious that an obscene remark could not be interjected.

585 833 Frequently as soon as the evening following the *nikka'*, when the guests have already returned to their houses, the bridegroom is taken by the older aunt to the partitioned-off shed where his bride is. The old women are still awake at this time. Some of them urge him to enter. They call him "my cock." Others try to hold him back from it, but this is mere make-believe. In so doing they are holding on to the idea that they must protect the young girl, as is the case in

585 /196 cont./ ordinary life. In reality, however, they all
833 hope that bridegroom and bride will be "good" with each other
as soon as possible, that is to say, that coitus will take place.
The old women listen at the walls.

If the young man expressly refuses to enter and join his
wife, the older people rest satisfied, at least for the time being.
[626] But they show their disapproval and renew, possibly even the
following evening, their attempts to make him go in. The
same situation obtains if the bride resists once the bridegroom
has been led in to her. If she knocks violently on the door,
she is let out.

585 The older people talk to the marriage partner who seems
833 to refuse sexual contact with the other. They point out that in
626 previous marriages young married couples again and again
submitted to what is now demanded of him (her). The bride
is told in such a case that all women have at one time undergone this experience, that her mother was also married in this
way. The end of the conversation frequently consists of the
questions so difficult for younger people to answer: "Surely
you don't want to make your aunt (that is, the speaker) ashamed?"
(namely, by sticking to the refusal /197/ and thus causing
to fail the marriage that she is trying to bring about). To
[888 contradict an older and sometimes at the same time a higher
576] person is discourteous. The individual who does not wish to
capitulate in such a situation can do nothing but remain silent.

Because of the strictly maintained separation of the sexes,
834 young unmarried men and women live in separate worlds.
585 When they are brought together, it is to be expected that it
521 will be difficult for them to talk to each other. Whatever
they have learned and applied up to that point is no longer of
any use. The prepared questions and answers thus serve, one
could say, to facilitate the very first contact. Formally,
they are an element of the ritual to bring man and wife together and to get them used to the fact that now other forms
of social intercourse obtain between them than before. In

834
585 /197 cont./ content, they have the purpose of teaching the
521 parties the attitude which they must adopt toward each other.

834 If one compares the crying, passive Makassarese bride
585 who clearly demonstrates her aversion to her husband, with
186 the happy, beaming Dutch bride who looks up to her bridegroom with full confidence, it is clear that every opportunity for misunderstandings is present. Then the criticism of an old Makassarese who had attended the wedding reception of a Dutch couple and had seen how man and wife finally were driven off together in a car amidst the cheers of the reception guests becomes comprehensible. In all these expressions on the part of the woman, he merely saw a display of her feelings of desire for her husband, and he found this quite indecent.

The fact of their leaving together signified to him that there was nothing more to prevent this man from giving in to his sexual desires. From the bride's conduct it seemed to him all too clear that the bridegroom would not have to make any effort to gain the bride for himself. The effort, tact, and considerateness displayed on this occasion are, to the Makassarese, the essence of the relationship between man and wife. Based on what he observed, this old man could only conclude that what was most important for him, was lacking among the Dutch.

177 Now the difficulties which arose at /198/ the marriage of
585 a young Makassarese man of high nobility to a girl from one of the prominent Makassarese Indo-European families also become understandable. In her house the atmosphere, dress, and so forth was to be European, and in his house it was to be Makassarese. This had been agreed upon beforehand by both families. In her house, therefore, the bridegroom was dressed in a tuxedo, and she was dressed in white with a short train. He was the gay, energetic bridegroom, and she the radiant

177 585 /198 cont./ bride who clearly enjoyed the bouquet of white carnations that she had received from him. Arm in arm they stepped into the car which took them to the next event in the festivities at his family's house.

There their gaiety collided with the Makassarese world which demands of the woman that she cry and show herself averse to her husband-to-be. The bride changed her clothing; she received the Makassarese bridal costume with the head-dress belonging to it, and was made up in a manner appropriate to it. When a moment later her bridegroom appeared and risked a joke, he was angrily put in his place. She turned away from him, and, as a good Makassarese bride, she henceforth sat motionless with closed eyes amidst the women, and at appropriate moments she displayed her aversion to her bridegroom in a self-composed manner, completely in accordance with the manner in which the Makassarese feelings must be expressed in this situation.

Child Marriage

584 The marriage policy of the older people permits even sexually immature children to marry. In so doing, they believe that they are keeping a marriage, judged desirable by them from not taking place. The reason that a marriage desired by them does not take place is to be found, in the first place, in the opposition of the individuals concerned -- the opposition of as yet sexually immature children practically does not have to be taken into account --, and in the second instance, in a request made by a higher person.

554 565 584 A request by the religious official or by someone with karaĕ̈ng blood in his veins to an ordinary kampong man can be made on behalf of a kinsman belonging to this higher person -- and in that case there will generally be no reason for refusal --. But it may also be made on behalf of a lower person, one of his followers, or for a close associate. Refusal

554 /198 cont./ in such a case also implies an insult to the
565 superior. To avoid the difficulties /199/ that would arise
584 through such a request, one lets the child marry especially young.

565 There are indications that relatively most child marriages
584 are contracted in the karaëng related group, that only a small number are contracted in that of the adat community heads, and extremely few among the ordinary kampong people. To have one's children marry at an early age is regarded as an expression of gentility.

114 In my opinion reliable figures can be obtained only
127 through verbal information gathered for each group of relatives. The marriage registers are particularly useless for this pur-
582 pose, first of all, because the age of bride and bridegroom are generally recorded there only "approximately"; and secondly, because all religious officials charged with filling out the marriage registers know that the administration does not like to see child marriages and therefore raise their estimate in this special case. For this reason, the age of a scarcely ten-year-old bride was registered as fourteen (1).

1. The father of this girl, a very special figure ahead of his time, had recorded the birth dates of his children in a notebook, and therefore a check was possible in this special case.

582 Just as in western Europe the word "slave" frequently
593 cannot be thought of without being connected with slave traders or slave transports, so the term "child marriage" is frequently linked with the conception of a sexually immature girl married to an adult man and forced by the latter to

582 /199 cont./ cohabitation, frequently with permanent physical
593 or psychic injuries for the rest of her remaining life. By
child marriage, therefore, we understand here a marriage in
which at least one of the two partners is not sexually mature.
But then the conception of the matter given above is incorrect
in two respects as regards South Celebes. In the first place,
the bridegroom as well as the bride is not yet sexually mature
in two of the four cases at my disposal. After the sealing of
the marriage, the children did not live in the same house.
They are supervised by the older people, and not until the
girl has menstruated and the boy has begun to "crow" -- and
this is sometimes the case only after several years, -- does
ordinary cohabitation take place.

In the second place, even if the man is sexually mature
and the girl is not, it is not necessary to be too fearful of
the evil consequences of a child marriage. A man, after all,
[832] is /200/ taught that he must be tender and loving to his
young wife, and that he must try to win her for himself
gradually. Rough conduct in this respect on his part is disapproved even in an ordinary marriage.

582 It is clear that in child marriage in South Celebes the possibility of ill-treatment of the overly young girl is not excluded, nonetheless the possibilities for this are very limited. Child marriage has not been institutionalized here. It is contracted in cases where the older people have a stake in keeping the influence of the young individuals upon the choice of their marriage partners to a minimum.

However, in so doing, they still do not have the certainty that this marriage will also become "good." A girl
[833 who was not yet sexually mature at the contracting of her
593] marriage to an adult man resisted him for a number of years
after menstruation had already set in. This was accepted by
the husband as well as by her kinsmen. This is a case of a
married couple where one partner desires no sexual union, and
thereby causes the marriage to fail. In a section concerning

582 /200 cont./ child marriage this means merely that a child marriage does not necessarily have any particularly bad consequences.

Refusal of Sexual Union in Marriage

586 We have only spoken above of a marriage where the prescribed Moslem rite has taken place. In the same way, we shall now mean by divorce the separation of the marriage partners according to the rules of Moslem dogma. However, only a certain aspect of the Makassarese ideas concerning these subjects is reproduced by this.

585 At the wedding feast, the elders concentrate their efforts upon the bringing about of sexual union between man and wife. Not until this has taken place, is it really believed to have been brought about.

After some time it appears that in a number of these
593 marriages the partners nonetheless are not "good," that is to
833 say, that they do not have sexual intercourse. In the present-
day stage of observation, however, this comes to light only
if they do not live together for extended periods, and avoid
each other. This state of affairs may last until the death of
[586] one of them. Only in a few cases, generally if one of the two
wants to remarry, does divorce according /201/ to Moslem
law take place. This is not much more than a formality
which legalizes an already existing situation. The "being
good" of man and wife constitutes the center of Makassarese
married life. The difficulties seem to lie there.

833 Only after the normal festivities have been concluded can it become apparent whether the goal has been reached or not. The pabadjikang ritual in itself provides no guarantee that sexual intercourse of man and wife has actually occurred. It is possible that the young man or woman goes through the entire wedding festival in the customary fashion, that is, more or less tacitly, but continues to refuse the sex act and

833 /*201 cont.*/ thus causes the entire purpose of the marriage to run awry. In such cases it is said of the man that he refuses sexual contact with his wife (*tena naero' ri bainenna*; literally, "he does not want his wife"); such a refusal may just as well emanate from the wife.

Sometimes it is clear that someone does not desire con-
584 tact with his spouse because he himself has made another choice and now still wants to force his kinsmen to permit him to marry her (1). In other cases a bride or bridegroom declares that the appearance of the marriage partner does not please him (or her). But in still other cases, not a single reason can be detected.

Sometimes it is believed in such cases that the individual who refuses has been affected by a spell emanating from

---

586 1. In a case which took place in Macassar in which a young man refused sexual intercourse with his wife because he had his mind set upon another girl, the marriage was dissolved after more than three years. At that time his father consented to his disposing of his wife. Shortly
587 thereafter he had to marry a second wife, just as little by his own choice as the first one. He led a normal married life with this second wife. She presented him with two children and died a few years afterwards. Only then did he marry the woman whom he had chosen eight years earlier.

833 /201 cont./ someone who does not want him to contract this marriage. Sometimes it is also believed that the ritual was not performed in the correct manner. Even where a man specifies his own choice and where the appearance of the other one /the spouse/ does not please him, it is believed possible to sway by means of spells and ritual the one who refuses sexual intercourse, so that the negative attitude will be abandoned. These attempts are continued for years after the contracting of the marriage. Favorable results of these attempts will be reported. Thus it appeared that shortly after such a ritual, carried out almost three years after marriage, a sudden reversal in the young woman's attitude became noticeable. Previously she had always withdrawn upon the arrival /202/ of her husband and had ignored him. Then all of a sudden she had thrown a bath sarong in his direction, and after this first sign of rapproachement, the relationship had soon become completely normal.

585
833
In order to join a couple that was not "good" together, the ex-Imam married them again. This is called "marrying again" (nikka' poleang). It is believed that in the original marriage ceremony a mistake was made, that is to say, that a formula was incorrectly recited or a ritual action neglected. As a result of this mistake, it is thought, the marriage had never been able to become completely successful, and a repetition of the marriage contract will be able to avoid this error. This marrying again which is sometimes called a "remedy" (paballe') is of no significance according to Moslem law. It is not recorded in the marriage registers. No further festivities take place upon this occasion. Even the sunrang is not paid again; only the nikka' is repeated (1). I was

1. The one who performed these wedding ceremonies was the ex-Imam of the adat community. Thus he is

585 /202 cont./ thought to be acquainted
833 with the formulas that
are correct in the Moslem
view. It is possible that
this is a local development.
Elsewhere in South Celebes
I did not hear of such marrying again.

able to record three cases of this. All three took place from one to three years after the first wedding ceremony; and in all of them the couple shortly thereafter was "good" together.

833 It is believed that the individual himself is not responsible for his unwillingness. Therefore, nobody is angry at him.

If the young man is unwilling, his wife's kinsmen are not
[602] angry at him. They receive him in a friendly manner when
he comes to visit at their house. His wife remains shy and
[593] withdrawn toward him, just as every young woman is toward
her husband. She is not angry either, nor does she feel insulted by his refusal.

593 The man, too, is not angry. He sometimes brings something
686 thing for his wife which she can use in the household, as is
833 customary between man and wife and as he would do if they
were "good" together. Frequently, he spends the night at a married brother's or sister's house, by preference not in that of his parents, because the latter very clearly show him that he should not sleep in their house but with his wife. A certain amount of pressure is therefore exerted upon him. "People who act like that have a short life," it is said.

In case the wife refuses, there is a similar situation./203/
She is similarly told that women in such circumstances do not
live long. "If a woman continues to refuse her husband, her
[761] bier will creak" (1). Her husband is not angry at her, nor

593 626 833 [761] /203 cont./ 1. That is to say, then she will soon die.' For when a corpse is placed upon the bier made of bamboo, the bier creaks.

does he feel shame because she refuses him. Her kinsmen feel a little embarassed (siri' siri') because they brought about the marriage and therefore also bear responsibility for her refusal, so they are extremely friendly toward the young man.

586 [833] The belief that the performance of ritual can cause a man or wife to give up his (her) refusal to have sexual intercourse entails that one waits for a long time before officially dissolving the contracted marriage. This is usually done with the mutual consent of the older people. Only when the latter have given up hope, after at least a year has elapsed, that the marriage could still become "good," is one of the two spouses permitted to marry someone else. Only then is the divorce of the first marriage registered.

In the case of couples who have been living separately for a long period of time, people often do not exactly know whether the Moslem marriage dissolution has already taken place. Little interest is shown in this.

The unwillingness of a young man is thus accepted, even though people are not simply satisfied with this right away. But one does not accept his giving the talak /formal repudiation. -- Ed./. A case of a young man disposing of his wife against the wishes of his older kinsmen was unknown in Borongloe. Informants believed that he would disgrace his kin group by doing so.

593 833 Even though a couple is "good" together after the wedding festivities are over, this relationship may not be lasting in a number of cases. After a shorter or longer period of time, no more sexual relations take place in such a case. This

593 833 /203 cont./ phenomenon can likewise be caused by either the wife or the husband. People frequently give some unimportant incident as the reason. One man stated that he no 586 593 833 longer wanted to have sexual relations with his wife because she had become angry at him when the lombok /red pepper/ that he had brought for her splashed into her eye as she was grinding it. Since then, man and wife no longer lived together. The latter would, however, at times get what she 593 586 needed for her /204/ daily sustenance from his warong /shop/. Now and then they would speak to each other, and sometimes she would ask him whether he would not come and look at their child. They did not quarrel, and no repudiation took place. When their child, who had stayed with the woman, was about to marry, she let her husband know, but he told her that he was leaving the consent and arrangement of the festivities to her. Neither of them remarried. This situation lasted until the death of the man.

In another case where a married couple had been living separated for years, the reason given was the fact that the wife wanted to continue living with her own kin group and did not want to go with the husband to his. "They live separated" (sisala pamantanganna), it is said in such cases.

A few figures may make the relationships here described a little clearer.

586 [162] On July 1, 1948, the number of persons residing in kampong Bontoramba who were divorced according to Moslem law and had not remarried was three, two men and one woman. The latter had been married to one of these two men. The wife of the other man lived elsewhere.

586 593 [162] In addition, the number of people living in separation but not (yet) divorced according to the law, amounted to six, five women and one man. The latter was married to one of the five women. The husbands of the other four women lived elsewhere. Two of these four women had been married through silariang and were later deserted by their husbands.

586 593 162 /204 cont./ Of the total of seven marriages in which the partners did not live together, though they were not divorced according to Moslem rites, four were childless.

Four of these seven married couples belonged to the Kapala group (525 persons) and three to the Mangenre group (90 individuals).

The number of divorces among people residing in the adat community of Borongloë (around 14,000 persons) who were recorded in the registers designed for this purpose from July 1, 1948 to July 1, 1949 amounted to seven. The percentage of divorced adult women was, according to the 1930 Census Report 1.7 per cent for the whole of Goa (1). My figures are too small to be expressed in percentages./205/ However, they show clearly that even in comparison with other districts, the number of divorces in this region is small.

1. *Verslag van de Volkstelling*, 1930, Part V, p. 69.

Selection of Marriage Partners on the Basis of Kinship

582 We have already pointed out that marriages between members of the same family /nuclear family/ are forbidden.

Marriages between housemates are regarded as unfavorable (1). The marriage of a widow's son to the daughter of a

1. Unfavorable in this section is a translation of the Makassarese word, *bambang*, which means "warm."

582 /205 cont./ widower, where the widow and widower had remarried and lived together in one house with the children from their respective first marriages, was not carried out in the city of Macassar until the Kali of Macassar declared that no Moslem legal objections existed against this marriage. In Goa, after some hesitation, such a marriage was not sealed. The chance for an unfavorable outcome was regarded as too great.

[584] Where two young people living in the same house have a chance of being married, as happens once in a while in the populous houses of headmen, one of them is sent elsewhere beforehand and is made to marry from there.

A marriage between relatives who do not belong to the same generation is regarded as unfavorable. Husband and wife are regarded as belonging to the same generation. If, [601 genealogically viewed, they belong to a different generation, 593] there arises in the beginning of the marriage an uncertainty with respect to social forms and terms of address, which after a while disappears as forms and terms are adapted to the new relationship. Where man and wife stated that they were members of the same generation, whereas later it appeared that a difference of generations existed between them, it was found unpleasant to be reminded of this irregularity in kinship relations. The conflict which had already become buried revived, as it were, by such an observation.

Where a difference in generations between man and wife is observable, in almost all cases the man belongs to the older generation.

The marriage of a man to a cousin of the fourth degree (samposikali) or to a cousin of the tenth degree is regarded by many as an "ordinary" marriage, but a few regard it as [565] unfavorable. In /206/ the karaeng group of relatives, marriages between relatives of the fourth degree occur with greater frequency than in Borongloë. In these circles greater

565 /206 cont./ value is placed, as they say, upon keeping the
582 blood pure and the goods together. There this marriage is therefore not regarded as unfavorable. In the higher classes, one can observe the tendency toward contracting marriages between closer relatives.

587 A marriage to someone who has already been married (a widower or divorced man) is regarded as unfavorable. The fact that the first marriage failed is ascribed to a lack of "pitjuru" (luck-bringing means), unless a special reason can be shown.
[828] The idea that an individual is as he is, and that he himself can change little about this, explains fears that the second marriage will fail for the same reason. Attempts are made to dismiss any thoughts of the first marriage by having the second marriage take place from another house, by choosing another bride's mother, and by making other changes. The best attitude imaginable is therefore thought to be that of a remarrying bridegroom who said, "I am going to begin a new life." This man was prepared to react differently in this second marriage than in the first, at which time he submitted with great aversion to all the ritual, gave his bride a rough tap on the back at the first touch, and in all possible ways made his dislike of this marriage apparent.

A woman prefers not to marry a man who has already been married, as the following verse (kelong) testifies, where a young woman is introduced saying:

[539]
"I would rather be a fallow
piece of land, an unplowed
sown field, than having a
buffalo run over me who has
already been under the yoke
once."

[576] Actually, it would be very crude if a girl were to recite this verse. This is only done by older people when it suits them at a certain moment in their marriage policy.

582 /*206 cont.*/ The marriage of an oldest son in a family to the oldest daughter of another is regarded as unfavorable (1), even if both are cousins of the sixth degree, for instance.

1. Makassarese:
Ulua siagang ulua nabambang.

/*207*/ If a couple is married, the marriage of the husband's brother to a sister of his wife is considered unfavorable. [565 184 This is called "piling up bamboos" (*tambung palapa*). This marriage occurred in the *karaeng* group of relatives. The marriage partners were first cousins, probably a sign of a limited choice of marriage partners. It is unclear whether this marriage was also regarded as unfavorable by *karaeng*.

When a couple is married, the marriage of his sister to a brother of the wife is considered unfavorable. This is called "the closing of the crossbeam" (*sisuluru palangga*). Instances of this in Borongloë are unknown to me.

The marriage of a man to the sister of his wife is forbidden. This prohibition is based upon Moslem law (1).

1. See T.W. Juynboll, *Handleiding tot de kennis van de Mohammedaansche Wet volgens de leer der Sjâfi'itische school* /Guide to the Knowledge of the Mohammedan Way according to the Dogma of the Shafiite School/, third edition, 1925, p. 185.

The marriage of a man and woman who as children were nursed by the same woman is regarded as prohibited in some cases. The prohibition is based upon Moslem dogma (1).

1. *Ibid.*

582 /207 cont./ Suckling kinship is thought to exist where a child under two years of age has been nursed by a woman five times to its full satisfaction. Among the Makassarese, nursing
853 by the mother occurs at irregular times. If the child so much
582 as makes a sound, it is put to the breast. If the mother does not have enough milk, she is helped out. Preferably a sister or a cousin (samposikali) of the mother takes the child to her breast. Under these conditions it is difficult to prove that a young man or a young woman some twenty years before were both nursed by one and the same woman. Among religious families in the city of Macassar, women take care that they do not nurse a child of a sister or cousin lest difficulties arise later when they arrange marriages. In one of these kin groups, a marriage did not go through even though preparations were far advanced, because the suspicion had been uttered that bride and bridegroom had both been nursed by the bridegroom's mother. The young man was then married to a younger sister
[184] of the bride. /208/ In Boronglоë nothing was noticed by me of the awareness of this marriage prohibition based upon suckling kinship (1).

853 1. A mother of several children whose milk had continued to flow frequently nursed her grandchildren of approximately the same age as her youngest children. The nipple of an old woman who no longer produced any milk was used by the recently born child of her daughter as a pacifier.
853
862 When a woman is pregnant (when the menstruation has stopped for several months),

853/208 cont./ 862 she begins to wean her youngest. The reason for still nursing her child of about two-and-one-half years who is able to walk, according to the mother, was that she was not yet pregnant. A child that already walks and plays but who still drinks from the mother's breast often turns out to be her youngest. A woman had continued to feed her first child (seven months old) while she was expecting her second. When the milk flow decreased, this child regressed considerably physically, since it was still taking little extra food. Only after the birth of the second one, when the mother was feeding both children, did the first one regain strength. This case must be regarded as an exception, however.

862 Weaning is done by means of a bitter fluid smeared on the nipple, which brings quick results. A woman was urging her child to suck even though she had just previously smeared her nipple. Later, when it was offered the breast, the child refused violently.

853 [565] A wet nurse (anrong pasusu) is only to be found in karaeng circles. She is spoken of as

853 /208 cont./ amma'daëng (mother daëng). Being a wet nurse is called hereditary, in the sense that one likes to see that where a woman has a nurse, the daughter of this nurse is again the wet nurse for the daughter of this woman. [565] A young mother of high nobility is said to be modern if she nurses the child herself. [582] A marriage of a noble person with someone who is related by suckling kinship to him is out of the question.

582 Finally, it is considered natural to marry a kinsman. In the case of marriage to someone who is not related there is mutual insecurity. Such a marriage always has a practical purpose. People want to extend the circle of their connections, [557] and sometimes it is believed to serve one's aspirations to rise best of all in this fashion. But in the case of such a marriage, the chance of failure is considered greater than in that to a kinsman. "Do not creep out" (teako alamba' assulukii) is said to one who has plans of marrying off his child outside the kin group.

Since a marriage to a non-kinsman, to a person of a different generation, and to a contemporary of the fourth and the tenth degree, is always regarded as unfavorable, there remains merely the possibility of marriage between contemporaries of the sixth and eighth degree. That is the marriage which, according to the figures given above (see pages 29 and 30) is, at the same time, the most frequent.

582 585 /208 cont./ In case of a marriage which is regarded as unfavorable, extra ritual is performed in order to assure a favorable outcome nonetheless. /209/

Selection of Marriage Partners ~~according to~~ Status (Hypergamy)

554 582 Marriage of a man to a higher woman is strictly forbidden. It is simply regarded as impossible. "It cannot be" (tena nakulle) is the reaction to such a suggestion.

835 554 Any contact of a man with a higher woman is also strictly prohibited. This is indicated by the same term (salimara'), used to denote a sexual relationship between members of the same family /in narrow sense/ which is known as incest.

[731] It is believed that if salimara' takes place the country will be overcome with misfortune. It is said that the paddy will no longer grow and that no more children will be born in such a case. In the case of crop failure or an epidemic, one accordingly looks for people suspected of having committed salimara'.

684 [692] The guilty couple must be punished by death. In the old lontar one reads that the blood of these people may not touch the earth; they must be drowned. The hadat (native court of law) punished this offense during the last decades with the banishment of the couple for a few years to different places outside the realm. After the period set by the court of law had elapsed, these people did not return to their kampongs; the danger of being stabbed to death in spite of the judge's sentence still seemed to be too great (1).

---

684 692 1. This is a direct consequence of the fact that under the influence of the administration these offenses were always very lightly

684 692 /209 cont./ punished by the native courts of law. Incest and, a fortiori, the contact situation of a man with a higher woman is not entered as an offense in the Penal Code. As a result, persons guilty of incest cannot, on the whole, be punished through government jurisdiction. In these districts the administration gives them protection in the form of a very brief punishment pronounced by the magistrate's court (elsewhere the district court, old style), coupled with the advice not to return to the kampong. This applies equally to violation of rules concerning contact between a man and a higher woman.

554 582 Prohibition of hypergamy is a well-known phenomenon in many cultures. In South Celebes the sharp reaction to transgression is the only striking thing. An explanation of this circumstance therefore will only be attempted.

554 A Makassarese occupies toward his equals and near equals a position of constant opposition. A fixed vertical articulation has not come about. His female relatives, and primarily his sister, constitute for him the point of departure in his striving to /210/ rise. They are a fixed point for him in this respect.

554 /210 cont./ A woman "may not go down." Impairment of
[558] her social standing constitutes for her male relatives, and
especially for her brother, an affront to their striving to rise.
They are injured in one of the very few fixed points which they
possess.

565 A Makassarese stands in a relationship of cooperation to a superior or an inferior. High and low have common interests. Together they are best able to realize their own aspirations to rise. The lack of an opposition element lends their mutual relationship an emotional security which is absent elsewhere.

An expression of competition between an inferior and a
superior entails an impairment of existing relationships between
high and low. The reaction to such an impairment is generally
554 a sharp repudiation. The superior tries to maintain existing
565 relationships because these give him emotional security which
he lacks elsewhere, because his attempts to rise can only be
successful through his tie with inferiors, and finally because
his rights and duties towards inferiors provide him with advantages that he does not like to be without.

684 Violation of contact prohibitions between a man and a
554 higher woman also signifies for a Makassarese an impairment
of an important, fixed point of comparison in his striving for
565 high /status/, and an impairment of the existing relation between high and low. Thus it means the impairment of two elements that are of essential importance to him in his culture. He faces a situation with which he feels himself unable to cope, and in his opinion there remains nothing else to do than to kill the person who has done this to him (adjallo').

That a violation of the contact prohibition between a man and a higher woman is indicated by the same term as that between members of the same family /in narrow sense/ probably means only that it is regarded as equally serious.

554 Such violation is therefore more serious than if contact
684 prohibitions are violated between equals or near equals. In the

554 684 /210 cont./ latter case, a marriage may still take place. Then there arises a relationship between "the people who feel siri'" and "the fleers, " a relationship which opens up the /211/ possibility of circumventing the killing that is also prescribed in this case. Ultimately, though only after years, a reconciliation can come about. This entire complex will be discussed in the following part of this chapter.

Third Part

The Siri' Phenomenon

554 571 Vertical mobility occurs by means of opposition relationships. Men between fifteen and forty years, and especially the younger ones among them, must face each other in a lasting relationship of challenge and outdoing. Each challenge and outdoing demands a reaction. The person who does not react, that is to say, the one who does not participate in what is regarded as important in this culture, has little social standing. The feeling of someone who is outdone is indicated by siri' (1). Someone is siri' when his social standing is

---

[114 196] 1. Matthes (Woordenboek, p. 583) translates the word siri' by "ashamed, diffident, shy, shame, sense of honor, disgrace." But to a Makassarese, siri' has an entirely different meaning than these words have for a Dutchman. The meaning fits equally little that of the

554 571 [114 196] /211 cont./ Indonesian word malu. An attempt at definition will be made below. For the sake of clarity, however, I have left the term untranslated in a number of cases.

impaired and when another person knows this.

A man is inclined to regard immediately as outdoing any accidental event at an encounter, or a lucky word on his part, by which he raises himself above the other person, at least in his own eyes. The other, when he hears this, is also siri'.

The reaction may consist of a counterchallenge, a returned insult, by which the original challenger in his turn becomes siri'. It is never possible to determine precisely who "began." The mutual opposition is sometimes explained by an event from the past that is regarded as of great importance, for instance, a murder. But with that the question concerning the origin of the mutual opposition is merely put off.

There exists the possibility that the outdone person will [579] respond by stabbing. The consequence of outdoing can therefore never be foreseen. It remains charged with real danger. Many stabbing brawls in South Celebes are proof of that.

554 571 685 /212/ One of the most spectacular challenges is the theft of cattle, horses, or buffalo. Its purpose is, in the first instance, to show one's courage (kaporeanna); only in a few cases are economic motives at the bottom of this. Sometimes a warning is uttered beforehand: "I am coming" (that is to say, "to [578] steal your buffalo"). Stealing cattle is done to find a reason for a brawl. A successful buffalo theft is considered a triumph and at the same time a challenge. A cattle theft at the expense of the prince is therefore a great insult.

554 571 177 /212 cont./ The idea that the person whose social standing is attacked must react, because whoever does not react is low in standing, has led at present to the relative popularity of various modern sports. The English idea in sports that one should be a "good loser" in everything is foreign to the Makassarese. To lose demands a reaction. One does not like to take part in a sport where everyone can directly see by the outcome who has won. In soccer matches standing is already harmed by the first opposing goal. The desire to score with a countering point thereby becomes so excessively great that both individual achievements as well as team play suffer from it. A trailing score is therefore difficult to equalize. Soccer circles in Macassar use this fact to point out that Makassarese have poor morale in competitive situations.

554 558 689 627 In the previous chapter we explained that a woman may not lose any standing. Her position is a fixed point for the men who are constantly outdoing each other. An impairment of her standing immediately calls for the most violent reaction, namely, the death of the challenger. Whoever does not react is "matesiri', " that is to say, "socially dead." This is expressed by saying that such a person is no longer "of use, " or that he is generally despised. Killing is used because what has happened is felt to be so bad that no other reaction is considered possible.

However, there are many reasons why a man in such a case prefers not to kill. Fear of the long prison sentence that awaits him or personal feelings of sympathy for the person who committed the transgression are among them. The tendencies to kill and not to kill are both present. And now their relationship is so much off balance that a man is not expected to go and find the person who made him siri' /213/ with the purpose of killing him, but to make a clearly observable attempt to do so in case of an encounter.

554 /213 cont./ In the Makassarese culture the reaction to an
558 attack upon the woman's standing is linked to a great number
689 of forms, and ways and means are indicated of escaping the duty to kill. The violence of this reaction can possibly best be understood if one realizes that the male striving to rise, in social standing is touched at the core through impairment of a female relative.

Silariang Marriage

558 The reaction to an attack upon the standing of the women, and in particular of the young girl, is institutionalized in the *silariang* complex. A number of its aspects will now be discussed.

684 Transgression of existing social forms obtaining between the sexes, called the contact situation above, which brings about *siri'*, is always held against both man and woman. Here it does not matter whether one of them, or neither of them, personally desire this transgression. From the moment it is observed, both are fundamentally in the same danger. For a woman the only salvation then is to flee from her house, and the best solution for her is a marriage to the man with whom she committed the transgression. This marriage which
583 therefore comes about after the flight of both is designated in the literature by "*siliariang*" marriage.

684 Its spectacular consequences, that is to say the forms for
627 contact between this couple and the wife's kinsmen can only
588 be understood on the basis of the notion that a person who caused *siri'* in this way must be killed, because only in this way can the challenge be answered and the *siri'* feeling of the challenged person be removed.

Killing or attempted killing of the couple however is not the only way in which the difficulties caused by the challenge can be solved. In practice, a reconciliation comes about between the couple that has fled and the wife's kinsmen after a certain time has elapsed in almost all cases.

554 588 627 684 /213 cont./ On this occasion there is always a superior, functionary or someone of higher blood present, because only then does an inferior control his *siri'* /214/ feelings. It would be a great discourtesy to act according to one's own opinions against the wishes of a superior and on top of that in the superior's presence. In a conflict of impulses to kill or not to kill, the presence of the superior makes not killing acceptable.

A superior, however, cannot without further ado impose his will upon inferiors. More clearly than elsewhere there appear here the limits of power that a superior has over an inferior. Coercion on the part of the superior to bring about a reconciliation has as a consequence not only the fact that no reconciliation is brought about, but it even intensifies existing difficulties. Below, we shall see examples of this.

588 607 684 After reconciliation there is no more question of *siri'*; relationships are again normal. But during the entire period, from the moment of the flight to the reconciliation, the relationships between the fleers, *tumannjala* ("people who have made a mistake"), and the wife's male kinsmen, the *tumasiri'* ("people who are *siri'*"), is bound to various rules. In practice there are many generally accepted ways of meeting the difficulties that have arisen through these *siri'* feelings, which will be described below. One repeatedly comes upon situations, or hears opinions defended by those involved, which are comprehensible only on the basis of ideas concerning challenging and killing. This does not mean that each *silariang* marriage is intended in the first place as a challenge, but it is regarded as such. Subsequent conduct is in accordance with it.

627 684 A man who has been made *siri'* by a violation of sexual prohibitions is therefore expected to kill the one who has transgressed. But it is not a matter of indifference how this killing takes place. By preference, it must be done in a manner worthy of a man, that is to say, by a stab with a knife (*badi'*) in the open.

627
684
/214 cont./ One who acts in this manner does not do so in blind rage. He knows exactly whom he wants to stab. In such a case one speaks of adjallo' (1). A man whose sister fled years ago and who stabbed her to death at an accidental encounter showed no remorse for his deed, but nonetheless was saddened about her death. He lamented the fact that he /215/ had encountered her. Given this encounter, however, he had been unable, as he saw it, to act in any other way unless he wanted to be regarded as a man without honor. Thus he was in a situation in which he saw no other way out than to kill.

627
671
682
684
Led before the judge, a defendant in a similar case generally confesses without hesitation. In answer to the question how he came to do the deed, he reports that the victim -- in the most fortunate case the maltreated person -- made him siri', and he regards this as sufficient motivation because every Makassarese immediately understands this involves his female relatives, and, on the basis of that, sympathizes with his deed.

[695] Once they are sentenced by the judge, the defendants rarely appeal. They accept the decision without further ado. They regard their deed as an honorable male act and not as a misdeed. Toward the judge who must sentence them they want to confess nobly, and they do not want reduced

---

577
627
684
1. See above, p. 74. It is completely incorrect to speak in such a case of "amuck"; this term covers an entirely different psychic state. Compare Professor van Wulfften Palthe, "De psychologie van de amok /The Psychology of the Amok/," Fakkel, 1941.

627 /215 cont./ "punishment." In so doing, they show themselves
671 completely willing to bear the consequences of their deed. In
682 a certain sense they are proud of it. Those remaining behind
684 hold up their conduct as a model for the younger generation.
Killing in response to challenge is itself a reason for self-elevation.

586 However long the jail sentence to which a man is subjected
in such a case, this is never a reason for his wife to divorce
him (1). She would find all her kinsmen opposing her if she
[629] should want to take such a step. After all, the husband has
[577] shown by his conduct that he is a good man. If, she should
want to divorce him now, this could only mean that she is a
bad woman, for there could be no other reason than that she
wants another man, that is to say, that she is man-crazy (lale).

A man and a woman who flee together generally get
588 married in the Moslem manner. But the marriage is not yet
"a socially recognized union between members of the opposite
sex" (2) with this, for each direct contact between the couple,
the tumannjala, and the /216/ tumasiri' is out of the question.
The couple knows that their life is in danger in an encounter,
[428] and a woman who has fled has no right to inherit property from
her parents (1).

---

1. Makassarese colonists in Paria reported that their wives were much more faithful than the Buginese, who often remarried very soon once their husbands were absent for a longer period of time, for whatever reason.

2. R. Linton, Study of Man, p. 173.

428 588 /216 cont./ 1. The religious judge (sjarat) acknowledges the share of the inheritance which is due her, but in the case of an "ordinary" division, that is to say, a division which takes place without the religious judge, her existence is officially ignored. At the most this relationship is used as a pretext, without being expressly stated as such, to leave the estate entirely or partially undivided.

593 684 627 The first person eligible to act when a woman has taken part in a contact situation is her brother. A little poem illustrates this:

Sari'battangadji todjeng,	Only the brother is the true,
[539] iadji kalli' madjarre';	he alone is the strong fence,
pindu' tjikali	where cousins
naempoi ranggasela.	of the sixth and fourth degree waver.

There is no mention here of the girl's father. He is the one who must give the official consent to the marriage and later to the reconciliation, but if his son does not agree, he [602] gets into difficulties. Officially, all male kinsmen of the woman are siri' when she has fled, but those who take an active part in such a case are, in the first place, her brother and sometimes also a cousin of the fourth degree, or a follower (2) of her father. The boundaries cannot be sharply

---

2. "His siri' is that of his master," it is said.

593
602 /216 *cont.*/ drawn. Other kinsmen display "their *siri'*" by
627 participating in the pursuit that takes place after the flight.
684 But at a later encounter they do not feel so quickly moved to
stab.

554 If the fleeing couple reaches the house of a kampong, or
627 higher, head, or that of a religious official, it should be safe
684 there. To stab in the house of a head or a higher person is a
[778] mark of great discourtesy to that person. In the presence of a
superior and, a fortiori, in that superior's house, a *tumasiri'*
must control his *siri'* feelings. In one case where a *tumasiri'*
pursued his sister all the way inside the head's house and
killed her there, this served as justification for the judge to
183 increase the punishment (3). In many cases the fact that the
627
684
tumannjala reached the house of a superior in all probability
signified a relief for their *tumasiri'*, /217/ because it frees the
latter from the necessity to stab. But no Makassarese would
simply admit this. The same applies to an encounter on the
open road. At such a moment many *tumasiri'* ignore their
tumannjala as completely as possible under the given circumstances.

588 In determining the reasons for *silariang* it can easily be
684 seen that they are not simply the high bride price, nor the
114 great expenses of the feast, nor certain differences in status,
nor even the fact that parents regulate the marriages of their
children without taking into account their wishes (1).

---

3. See /H. T. Chabot, "Steekpartijen in Goa /Knifings in Goa/, " *Indisch Tijdschrift van het Recht*, / Vol. 149, p. 328.

588 684 [114] /217 cont./ 1. The suggestion I made in 1938 to the effect that a deeper knowledge of the Makassarese marriage arrangement would clarify the reasons that lead to a silariang marriage has therefore proved incorrect. See /Ibid./ Vol. 149, p. 334.

Silariang is inevitably preceded by a violation of rules concerning social intercourse between the sexes, regardless of whether this was intentional or not. Only when one continues to search for the reasons leading to the transgression of these social rules, does one find the desire on the part of the individuals whose marriage is prevented by social or economic factors and who therefore resort to silariang.

521 684 Even if nobody else knows of this transgression but the man and the woman, the latter can still not be sure that he will not boast of it in order to appear as a "ladies' man" among his companions. Boasting of success with women is typical of young men (tau rungka). They like to suggest extensive successes, even though actually little more has happened than that a number of significant glances were exchanged, and a few remarks of a general nature but, in his opinion, cleverly stated were made in her presence. At the same time, a young man has a valid reason for remaining vague when he makes such boasts, for if he were to be too explicit, so that another could understand to whom he is referring, his bragging immediately imperils the girl. Then [626] her brother might hear of it. The fact that people "talk about her" is one of the worst things that can happen to a young woman. In that case she must certainly flee because [558] her brother or cousin can do nothing but stab unless he wants

521 /217 cont./ to be matesiri'. Every man knows these consequences
684 of thoughtless bragging; he is afraid of them because
[558] in such a case he would have to flee with the girl, and
[588] generally that is not his intention.

684 /218/ A woman who finds herself in a contact situation
knows that she is in danger of being stabbed if her brother hears
about it. Rarely does he see it or hear of it directly, however.
Therefore, he can only rarely react to it in a direct manner.
[626] Not until it seems to her that her contact is being discussed
does the danger become real for the woman. She always has
[521] a certain leeway in time, since everyone knows the great
dangers involved in talking about these matters. Nobody
likes to be called a "tale bearer" in a certain matter.

When she is being discussed, one of the older women,
[571] sometimes even her mother, may warn her concerning the
danger she is in. They will suggest flight and help her in the
preparation. Whether she then flees alone or with the person
who has made her siri' is another question. Such help is always
[672] denied toward the men. For whoever helps a woman
who should be killed is herself subject to the death penalty.

Frequently, the girl flees around dusk when an offhand
remark that she is just going to the well is not suspected, and
darkness covers her flight. A young man who at such a
[682] moment stabbed his sister was unable to give any other reason
672] than that he suspected her of wanting to flee. There was,
[626] however, no "proof." His act was therefore greatly disapproved.

When the flight is discovered, the young men immediately
627 take action. They organize a search, question the women,
684 arm themselves, and set out on an expedition. They stop
[602] at their kinsmen's houses and ask them "siri'"; that is to say,
they ask them to come along and help them in the pursuit.
The latter cannot refuse without a loss of honor. "If you
[626] don't have a sense of shame, go and borrow some somewhere,"
was snapped at someone who hesitated momentarily, and
thereupon there could be no more question of hesitation.

627 /218 cont./ Only when after some searching they cannot find
684 a trace do they return home one after the other.

The women, tied as they are to the house, must wait to
562 see how the pursuit develops. Among them there prevails an
atmosphere of fear, which remains until a report has been
received that the couple has reached the house of a neighboring
kampong functionary. The older women meanwhile tell
538 stories about former flights and about the miserable lot of
867 a girl who was captured and killed. They describe how lonesome
the girl who has fled must feel now, far away from her
mother, her sisters, and cousins, among totally strange
people, /219/ without the cozy companionship around her to
which she was accustomed. Her mistakes are elaborated upon:
by fleeing she has caused great sadness to her mother; she
should have waited until the older people, who have her best
interests at heart, had arranged her marriage. She longed
too much for a man. She was not the still, modest girl that
she should have been. These are all so many lessons for the
listening children and young girls.

588 A few days after the flight, when the first excitement
has died down, the head to whom they fled leads the couple
to the religious official charged with the registration of
marriages. The formalities that are prescribed by Moslem law
now raise a few difficulties. The wife's wali must give his
consent to the marriage. Officially, he never wants to do
that because the woman, frequently his daughter, made him
siri', and he is therefore unable to recognize any tie with her
626 without exposing himself to contempt, especially that of the
558 younger men. In practice it is assumed that he has given his
consent when he says to the imam's helper who has come to
speak with him about this affair: "Do with her what you like."
This is regarded as an authorization to the person who performs
the marriage ceremony, the imam, to appear as wali in his
place.

588 /219 cont./ Along with the request for consent, the wali is frequently asked whether he wants to receive the sunrang. And his answer that he does not wish to receive the sunrang must be interpreted in the same way as his statement respecting the consent he is asked for: he desires to deny [578] every tie with the woman who has made him siri'. She should be dead; for him she does not exist. At the nikka' the wife therefore receives the sunrang herself. Later, at the reconciliation, the sunrang is then offered to her kinsmen after it has been freshly prepared. Thereby one maintains the fiction that only then does the ordinary marriage take place.

[583] Independent of all rank and status, the amount of the sunrang at the marriage of a woman who has fled is always 20 reals (1).

[183] 1. Of the total number of marriages (107) contracted over a period of time of one year (from January 7, 1948 to January 7, 1949) in Borongloe, there were 19 silariang marriages, or around 18 per cent. This percentage seems to be normal for Goa. In 1947, 1492 marriages were registered in the entire province of around 200, 000 residents. Of these, 283 were silariang marriages. [184] According to reports, the percentage of silariang marriages is much higher in other districts, such as Djeneponto.

588 684 /220/ In the case of a silariang marriage, the man must pay a fine (kasalaang). The person performing the marriage ceremony records this payment in the marriage register. The money is kept and offered to the wife's father during the reconciliation. The latter does not want to accept the fine directly during the performance of the marriage because in so doing he would again recognize a tie with his daughter that he does not want. He therefore often asks the imam, the man who has performed the wedding ceremony, to accept this money as a "good gift" (sidakka'). That is the practice in Borongloë. Elsewhere, the marriage official hands this fine over to the wife's father directly after the marriage has been performed.

177 627 684 A few observations can be made concerning the origin of this local difference. This fine formerly used to be called, "cutting off what is pointed, " or "making blunt what is sharp"; this meant that after the receipt of the fine no reason for stabbing was thought to exist any more (1). The fine was regarded as an element of the reconciliation, and for that reason was not paid until that occasion. Makassarese feelings linked the receipt of the fine to the end of the tumasiri'-tumannjala relationship.

177 627 648 684 Shortly after the South Celebes expedition of 1905, the number of stabbings based upon a silariang affair seems to have been very large. At that time the administration looked

---

1. Cf. C. T. Bertling, "Huwelijk en huwelijksrecht in Zuid-Celebes /Marriage and Marriage Law in South Celebes/, " /Indisch Tijdschrift van het Recht, / Vol. 147, p. 203. /Batavia, 1938./

177 627 648 684 /220 cont./ for means to limit this number. In 1906, Governor Kroese issued a circular letter in which he made the suggestion designed to cause the fine to be paid directly at the nikka' and to be accepted by the wife's wali, in cases of silariang marriage. He hoped that the tumasiri'-tumannjala relationship would be directly removed in this way.

However carefully the suggestion may have been handled, the pressure that was exerted was nonetheless too strong. Since that date the fine has in fact been paid at the nikka' in a great many districts, but the tumasiri'-tumannjala relationship nonetheless has remained in existence. Only when we keep in mind these historical facts can we understand why, in a certain region where the wife's father accepts the fine at the nikka' but the sunrang not until the reconciliation, 'making blunt what is sharp' now indicates this sunrang.

684 582 /221/ According to Moslem law, the wife's wali may refuse his consent to a marriage on the basis of the fact that the woman is of a higher status than the man. In an ordinary case such a difference is reason for refusing a marriage request, even if a different reason is given: "It is not seeming that they should marry" (taena nasiratang), is the usual [588] expression. If the wali in a case of silariang refuses to give his consent on these grounds, the imam separates them, unless the couple desires to carry through the marriage. In that case the affair goes before the judge. If the decision states that the woman is higher than the man, they are separated. Rather than seeing her married to a man of lower blood, the kinsmen will take her back again though she made them siri'.

684 695 After such a separation by authority of the imam or judge, there no longer exists any tumasiri'-tumannjala relationship. The functionary concerned reports to the tumasiri' that the

684 /221 cont./ affair is herewith ended and that neither man
695 nor woman may be subjected to any more difficulties. In practice, however, the man, at least initially, does not show his face in a kampong where many of the woman's kinsmen reside. For safety's sake he does not do so until, for instance, she is married to another man, and feelings with regard to him have quieted down somewhat.

626 The feelings with respect to the woman who has been
684 taken back home by her own kin group have not yet completely calmed down either. She has committed a mistake which lies more in the area of the salimara' than that of silariang. She is familiar with the danger connected with it and therefore takes care to conduct herself as inconspicuously as possible, so that her male kinsmen will be reminded as little as possible of her existence. In the few cases that such a separation took place, the woman was practically always married off shortly thereafter. In a single case where this did not happen, she
588 fled three years later with another man likewise lower. This time the wali nonetheless had to give his consent for the marriage under pressure from the imam, who pointed out that he had taken poor care of this woman's siri' by not finding a man for her.

684 As a reason for having fled with a man, a girl sometimes
states that he forced her to do so and that he threatened to
834 kill her if she did not go with him. The jurist who /222/ would accept "forcible abduction, " in all such cases would make a mistake. It could not be expected of a girl to confess, even as a sworn witness before the judge, that she went with her "abductor" of her own volition. This would be a sign that she desired him, and this cannot be expected from any woman who is brought up in the idea that the display of this desire (lale) is greatly reprehensible (1).

---

1. In such a case one might consider not swearing in the abducted woman, of whom it

684 /222 cont./ cannot be expected that
834 she would speak the truth
on this point.

Nor does a man need to use force if he wants to coerce a woman to flee with him. By making her siri', he leaves her no choice. It would then be too dangerous for her to remain at home. Her brother would be able to do little else than stab her. Occasionally a man may purposely make a woman siri' and thereby force her to flee with him because he wants to marry her while she does not desire him for a husband. But [626] more frequently the reason is that his kinsmen desired this union, and their request for it was turned down. For the young man, a remark such as: "Why are we refused?" is then tantamount to a command to respond to the insult of such a refusal. And he can do this in no better way than by forcing a flight.

177 834 Under modern circumstances in Macassar, conditions are frequently somewhat different. If girls continue to attend school after they have become marriageable, their contact with young men is quite different from those under the conditions previously described. In such a situation her fear of contact with a young man is less, because now there are subjects about which she can talk to him without danger. At the same time the attitude of the young men changes. They no longer regard themselves as siri' if their sister talks to one of their school friends.

177 588 It is possible that the number of silariang marriages in this younger generation is larger than in the country because, on the one hand, the opportunity for the young people to carry out their own choice against that of their parents is much greater, and, on the other hand, the danger of being stabbed in these circles is decreasing rather /223/ than increasing. Figures are not available. At the same time there are arguments which explain why the number is not much larger

177 /*223 cont.*/ already. This is connected with the fact that
588 *silariang* is regarded as bad (*kodi*) and a festive wedding as good (*badji'*). A young man who likes a girl may ask her whether she wants to flee, but he will immediately accept her refusal when she says that she does not want to make her mother unhappy, or that she does not want to do "the bad," that is to say, *silariang*.

177 A modern young woman who associated very freely with
588 young men -- she went alone to run errands in the *toko* /stores/
834 and conversed with her male colleagues in the normal school when she met them on the street -- met with considerable
[626] criticism from her aunts and older sisters. They called her a street broom and assured her repeatedly that she would come to an evil end. She received many requests to flee, and most of these were made not so much through a lust for adventure, but rather as a consequence of the fact that many young Makassarese men from a good house find it pleasant to marry a modern young woman who can get along in company. *Silariang* was therefore a means for them to carry out their wishes against those of their parents. But this young woman steadfastly refused; "I want to show that I can be modern in a good way" (*eroki kupappatjinikang kamoderengangku*), she would say, and the young men would be content with that. She indicated that prohibited contact in and by itself did not need to have bad consequences in the form of a marriage by flight.

Erangkale

588 One speaks of "*silariang*" when a man and woman flee
684 together, and of "*erangkale*" (literally, "to bring one's self") when the woman runs away from home alone to the man who has made her *siri'*. Reasons for these two forms of *silariang* are not different either in principle or in consequences. Frequently, it depends upon an accident whether a woman

588 684 /223 cont./ leaves alone or with the man. I call it an accident, for instance, whether she succeeds in arranging a rendezvous for the flight through an intermediary. The fear that upon (unintentional) forbidden contact, the reaction will be a /224/ stab with the knife is always one of the motives for her flight.

588 626 558 When a woman flees to a man, the latter can do nothing but go with her. He would be no "man," not even in the opinion of his own kin group, if he did not do so. Rather than letting it be said of him that he "flees from a woman," he goes with her to the village or religious functionary, marries, and in so doing invites all the difficulties which a silariang marriage brings with it. Then he behaves as beseems a man.

588 626 684 It is assumed as a matter of course that a woman who takes refuge with a man has reason for this. The man who refuses marriage in such a case can be sure that he will no longer be an acceptable guest to many people. It is regarded as very reprehensible to make a girl siri' and then not to marry her. I was able to record only two instances of this.

684 When a girl of approximately thirteen years of age had taken refuge with a man of about twenty-six, the latter denied that he had given cause for this. He had known her a long time, so he said, and his feelings toward her had [626] merely been those of a brother. He lamented what she had done because now they were both siri' in his opinion, she, because she fled, and he because many would be unwilling to accept his refusal and would therefore be loath to receive him in their houses. It is noteworthy about this statement that this man placed the siri' feeling of the woman beside his own. Thus, he ascribes to her siri' feelings which normally only men are supposed to possess, feelings which arise when an attempt, made in public, to attain something fails.

In the other example, the man admitted that he did have some fun with the woman who fled to him (bandjulu', 684 /224 cont./ here used in the sense of "make little verbal jokes"), but he refused to go with her. At the request of her father she was then returned to her kin group by authority of the judge. "We have enough kinsmen who can marry her," was the explanation for this request, and so it happened. In these two instances, the determined attitude of the man was accepted, while at the same time he was not regarded as tumannjala. The explanation for this may be the character /225/ of the girl, who in both cases was known not to possess the modesty and timidity which girls really should have.

A number of times a woman fled to a stranger in the
588 belief that he made her siri', while in his own mind he had
626 done something quite ordinary. Thus, a Christian Sangirese
684 who was appointed as foreman over a number of Makassarese turned in public to the sister of one of them to ask where her brother was. A few days later she fled to him. After having been instructed by friends, he reacted according to Makassarese expectations. He paid the sunrang and the fine and behaved as beseems a good tumannjala until the reconciliation had taken place according to Makassarese custom. Only the Moslem marriage ceremony did not take place.

689 When an Indochinese in such a situation refused to marry,
609 the imam took the girl back to her kin group. The latter regarded neither him nor her as tumannjala. "He does not know our adat," they said, and that was a sufficient explanation for them.

834 There are countless reasons which make a woman siri'
684 and lead her to take refuge with a certain man. In each case forbidden contact with this man can be demonstrated. Frequently this contact is accidental. The girl who was addressed by the Sangirese just mentioned was at that moment engaged in drawing water. She did not answer, which was perfectly natural from the Makassarese point of view, but her father had observed the situation and said: "I sent you to the well to

684 /225 cont./ get water and not to talk." In another case a
834 girl was washing at the well when a ball with which a group
of young men were playing raga rolled close to her. She
gave the ball a little kick, and the young man who came to
get it laughed to her. A few days later she fled to him.
Another case concerned a girl who, during one of the ceremonies
preceding her wedding, broke wind. One of her
cousins immediately took the blame for it: "Don't laugh,
people, it slipped out of me," he said. A few days later,
the nikka' had already taken place; she fled to him. As it
turned out later, she did so at the urging of her aunt: "Go
off, do what your siri' demands" (lampako, dongkoki siri'nu),
the latter is supposed to have said. Subsequently, she
married this man.

/226/ In none of these instances was the woman therefore
in any direct danger. In all three of them her action
[672] was completely understood, and her kin group was "not very
siri'," that is to say, the reconciliation took place within
half a year. Rather than remaining siri' and running the risk
of being stabbed, these women resorted to flight. Rather
than refusing to go with her and not being believed and thus
being regarded as one who flees before a woman, the men
married. The wife's kinsmen were siri' because she fled and
thereby openly admitted that forbidden contact existed. But
there certainly was understanding of her action and the feelings
that led her to it. In the last of these three cases just
described, the deserted bridegroom was also without feelings
of rancor toward the second husband. He regarded the course
of events as part of his lot. When etiquette had been satisfied
[152] through reconciliation, there was no apparent trace of personal
feelings of anger in him.

/226 cont./

Extramarital Pregnancy

848 Pregnancy is naturally a reason for flight for an unmarried woman. For the first few months the male relatives need not notice anything so she can safely remain at home. Her mother or sister is sometimes taken into her confidence, but both will always deny this. If, under these circumstances, a woman does not suceed in persuading the father of her child to flee and marry her, she finally flees by herself and names [588] him to the religious official concerned. Summoned by the imam, the majority of men confess. Thereupon the marriage is carried out, and the couple is henceforth simply regarded and treated as tumannjala.

A man who continues to deny being the father of the child is taken to the Kali of Goa. If he maintains his denial [695] there, he receives the opportunity to swear solemnly in the great mosque of Goa that he did not make this woman pregnant. Once he has performed this oath, he is free. In reality, however, he is still in danger. He will do well not to enter the kampong where the woman used to live. The general opinion is that a woman does not lie under such circumstances. A man who denies being the father of her child, even though [627] he has fortified his denial by an oath, must always take care that one of her /227/ kinsmen will not try to kill him all the same. Only when she has subsequently married another man is he safe.

584 588 848 After the man has made his oath, the woman remains in the imam's house until someone comes who wants to marry her. This usually happens after a few days. First an emissary from this man has a talk with the imam, who then conveys the marriage request to the woman. If she is not yet acquainted with her marriage partner-to-be, she is given an opportunity to see him, and she can then decide for herself. If she remains seated silently with bowed head, this is tantamount to her consent. But her expression "tea'" (I don't want to) is accepted. A woman who refuses several candidates one after another will at most be told that she is making

584 /227 cont./ things difficult for the people around her. There 588 always seems to be a sufficient number of unmarried men who 848 would like to get married.

It rarely happens that a child is born without the mother 848 being married. This may happen by way of exception, for instance, if a woman is pregnant by her sister's husband. According to Moslem law, which in this point is strictly followed in Goa, she may not marry this man before her sister is divorced from him and the iddat period is past. Children born outside wedlock are, therefore, a rarity. At the same time they usually die soon. Only once a girl of about eight years of age was pointed out to me in Borongloë as a child who had never had a father. Figures concerning this matter [163] cannot be given because these births, or the subsequent death of the children, are not recorded in the respective registers. Makassarese fail to see what interests would be served in doing so. They prefer to forget such cases as soon as possible.

A man who marries a woman who was impregnated by 588 another man is called pattongko' siri' ("coverer of the disgrace"). 672 Such a marriage is regarded entirely like a silariang marriage. 684 No further festivities take place when it occurs. The fine is paid, and the man is tumannjala with respect to his wife's kinsmen until the reconciliation, even though he only attained this status by virtue of the fact that he married her. It is usually a widower or a man of over thirty years who wants to contract such a marriage. Sometimes he is a kinsman of the woman, but in that case always a cousin of the sixth degree (sampopinruang) or further removed, for her closest kinsmen are, in the first instance, tumasiri'.

His action is appreciated. It makes the woman /228/ [848] happy, so it is said, because he saves her and her kinsmen from an even greater disgrace, giving birth to a child without being married. This appreciation is expressed, in the first place, by an early reconciliation, often as soon as a month after the marriage has been contracted. Furthermore, although

588 /228 cont./ during the period between nikka' and recon-
672 ciliation the "pattongko' siri'" is officially regarded as
684 tumannjala, in reality both parties do their best to avoid each
other more than usual.

A description of such a wedding will follow here to
588 describe the atmosphere which is so completely different from
that prevailing at an ordinary festive marriage, but especially
to show also what both have in common. This is Djawi's wedding, which occurred in 1940 in Borongloë. There was no
question of a festival here. The tone of the conversations
was different from that at a festive wedding, and the ritual
had been reduced to a few simple actions.

Djawi had fled from her parental house in a pregnant
588 condition. The man whom she had named as the father of her
848 child had denied this, and she had then been taken to the
house of the adat community head to wait there until someone
should come to marry her, or, as it was expressed, "to take
her disgrace away from her" (angalleangi siri'na), or else,
"to let her live" (antallassi). After a few days an immediate
588 uncle of Djawi came to tell her that her uncle of the seventh
degree (purina sampopinruang), by the name of Rappung, a
divorced man without children, wanted to marry her. The
adat community head conveyed this request to her. She
already knew Rappung, and therefore she did not have to see
him first, and she was given ample time to think the matter
over. She continued to be silent, and from this it was concluded that she agreed to the marriage. The head reported
this to the Imam of Borongloë, who sent a letter to Djawi's
father in which he requested his consent to the marriage of
his daughter. The letter included an authorization for the
Imam to take his place as wali, an authorization to which
only his fingerprint had to be added.

/229/ On this occasion it appeared that the sawah
[583] designated as sunrang yielded only 50 sheaves of paddy, while
a sawah of 100 sheaves was regarded as customary in such a

588 /229 cont./ case. The Imam therefore took into account
[583] the possibility that the wali would withhold his consent for
this reason. The consent was given nevertheless. That Rappung was a valued worker in the kin group was probably a factor of some influence on the decision. Thereupon, the Imam, in agreement with Rappung, set the day and hour for the wedding.

Just before the time agreed upon, at about eight o'clock in the evening, the woman was taken to the Imam's house. She went directly up the back stairs and waited in the woman's rooms. A little later, Rappung arrived in the company of his gurukampong and two of his kinsmen. Shortly thereafter the Imam's son-in-law also arrived. The latter was to act as witness together with the gurukampong. At the conclusion of the solemnity both received 0.25 gulden for their part in it.

212 The Imam produced the carefully locked-away registers
and wrote in these with a pen especially filed for the writing
588 of Makassarese letters. In so doing he asked the customary
805 questions: "How old are you?" Rappung did not know. "How
old were you at the fall of Goa?" (1) was one of the questions designed to help him find the answer. "One year!" "How old is Djawi?" At the fall of Goa she apparently had not yet been born. "How old was she at the time of the Spanish influenza epidemic?" (2) "At that time she was not around yet either." The Imam assumed that she was probably born shortly thereafter and, basing her age on that, entered it in the register. February 27, 1940 was recorded as the date of the marriage, although the marriage was performed on the evening of the 26th (nine o'clock in the evening).

1. 1905.

2. 1919.

/229 cont./ During this solemnity those present were
588 seated in a kind of closed-off veranda built onto the house
proper of the Imam. The barred windows were still in the
original front wall, and the men present in the veranda
could get a glimpse of the women through them. Among
them was a woman called Kamida who was in exactly the
same position as Djawi and who was therefore also waiting
to see if someone would come for her./230/ "That Kamida
would also like to, " said the guru, and there was general
laughter. Rappung, who now felt at ease said that he had
really carried through his marriage against the wishes of his
parents. They had warned him against marrying since this
[777] month is regarded as "unfavorable" for it (*bulang bambang*,
literally, "warm month"), and the Imam responded immediately:
"Rappung *bambang tongi*" (literally, "Rappung is
also warm").

The Imam now called out loud for Djawi but she did not
appear. A woman was sent to get her, but she did not come.
"She is asleep," someone said. A younger brother of the
Imam was told to go and call her, and meanwhile the Imam
had a burning censer pushed toward him by his wife. Djawi
still remained in the back, but finally, urged on by the
Imam himself, she appeared in the veranda, and, with her
back half turned to her husband-to-be and face turned toward
the wall of the house, she sat down. If it is at all possible
the woman is spared this situation. Even when servants marry,
[212] the master who organizes the wedding takes care that taking
the wife's fingerprint is arranged beforehand. According to
Moslem legal prescription, a woman does not sign herself
if she has a father or grandfather and if she has never before
[587] been married. *Silariang* cases, and therefore also this case,
are placed on a par with the marriage of a previously wed
woman.

After Djawi had her fingerprint taken, the witnesses and the Imam signed. After that the *nikka*' took place. Rappung

588 /230 cont./ was seated on a little mat with his face turned west; Djawi was seated obliquely across from him to the left, with her back turned toward him. The Imam sat across from him and obliquely to the right behind him sat the witnesses, while right next to them sat one of his male kinsmen who had accompanied him. Now the Imam passed the censer on so that it described a small circle around Rappung (nipaliliki): three times counterclockwise and once clockwise. After each circle, when the Imam again had the censer in his hand, he waved the incense smoke toward Rappung (nikapeki) with the words: "Be happy" (literally, "Open your soul").

Now the Imam with his right hand grasped Rappung's right thumb and spread a white handkerchief over both their hands. Then he asked Djawi whether she wanted to marry Rappung. /231/ She did not answer; the question was repeated with urgency. Her "yes" was scarcely audible. The Imam thereupon turned to the witnesses: "Heard?" A mumble of assent followed from all those present. Then he asked Rappung how much the sunrang amounted to. He answered, "Twenty reals." Then the Imam recited the words of the offer (idjab). "Kunikkako, Rappung, kupasikalabiniko iDjawi, ana'na iSaibu; nusunrang 20 reala'" ("I marry you, Rappung, I join you in marriage to Djawi, the daughter of Saibu; you give a sunrang of 20 reals"). After this had first been recited to him, Rappung answered that he accepted this offer (kabul). "Kutarimai pakkalabinanna iDjawi; kusunrang 20 reala'" ("I accept being joined in marriage to Djawi; I give a sunrang of 20 reals"). Thereupon, the Imam let go of Rappung's hand.

"It is the second time that he is getting married, that is why he is so clever" (that is to say, that is why he can repeat the formula immediately without any mistakes), it was remarked. The Imam then mumbled the credo (doangang nikka'), and in so doing he held both hands with the palms turned up before him. The men present did the same. This lasted for only a moment, and with it the formal part was concluded.

588 [554 576] /231 cont./ Rappung shook hands with those present (a'djama taëng) in the order of rank and status, first the Imam who urged him to go to his wife, who remained seated motionless. He just touched her hand. He then went to the two witnesses, first the oldest, then the Imam's younger brother, and finally to his two kinsmen who had come along.

The Imam opened the round copper box (kampu) in which the sunrang was contained. In it were: two kalomping (betel leaves folded in a special way), two pieces of areca nut, a few grains of rice, and 4.25 guldens. Of this, 0.25 gulden was designated for the Kali of Goa, and 0.25 gulden for each of the witnesses. The rest was for the Imam. And finally there was a small lump of earth symbolizing the sawah transferred as sunrang. The money was taken out of the box and distributed. Thereupon, the couple left, and with them their companions.

[493] Two three-wheeled bicycles with baskets (tallu roda) stood in readiness. Rappung and his wife sat down on the one in front. "They find it pleasant to sit close together" (nangai siampika), those on the second tallu roda shouted, but Djawi turned her back to him /232/ and by this demonstrative aversion showed that she knew how a just-married woman should behave.

Reconciliation

602 627 The reconciliation can be defined as the solemn arrival of the two tumannjala together with the man's kinsmen and acquaintances at the house of the father or one of the brothers of the wife. There many of her kinsmen are gathered for the occasion. Wife and husband ask for forgiveness from all those present and offer the sunrang, the fine, and cookies.

622 627 The kampong head, or a higher functionary, is always present on such an occasion. He is the one under whose authority the reconciliation comes about. In his presence the

622 627 /232 cont./ siri' feelings must be repressed. It is also always a superior who makes the first attempts at creating a reconciliation. The tumasiri' cannot oppose his clearly expressed wishes, unless they have special reasons for doing so. However, [577] the tumasiri' can only be expected to begin by fighting against a reconciliation, because this is masculine, and it is therefore appreciated if one adopts an unconciliatory attitude and pretends that this siri' can only be reconciled by death.

But there are limits to the pressure which a superior can exercise in such an instance. If the pressure is too strong, his wish is not accepted by a number of tumasiri'. At most, the one who during preparatory conversations had personal contact with the superior feels obligated toward the superior. Opposition grows between the tumasiri', and through "incorrect understanding" the reconciliation ceremony ends in failure. In that case the tumasiri'-tumannjala relation continues to exist. This was the case when the brother of a woman who had fled yielded to the pressure of the gurukampong to agree to the reconciliation. At the hour that had been fixed, none of the other kinsmen was present in the house to which the tumannjala were supposed to come. Previously the rumor had circulated that difficulties were to be expected. For that reason the adat community head had sent a representative. Since the personal authority of the gurukampong was insufficient, someone higher than he had to be present in order to prevent bloodshed.

The two tumannjala were received by the representative of the /233/ head, the gurukampong (the mediator), and the wife's brother. The situation was extremely difficult for the [626] brother . He was present in order not to be impolite toward the gurukampong, but among his kinsmen he was regarded as the one who had shown insufficient awareness of the disgrace that had been inflicted upon them. He was spared being asked for forgiveness by the couple and having his hand grasped by

622 /233 cont./ them, because then the tumasiri'-tumannjala
627 relation would have been removed for him while it would continue with respect to his other kinsmen. The upshot now was that after a short meeting the couple returned home with the man's kinsmen who had come along, taking with them the sunrang, fine, and cookies. The general opinion was that the fault lay with the gurukampong who had exerted too much pressure.

627 Arguments that are adduced to sway the wife's kin group to agree to a reconciliation state that the woman longs so much for her mother, that people who are related to each other belong together, and that the man's mistake is a small one. In the event that the woman takes refuge with a man, and, to an even greater degree, if she marries an outsider in a pregnant state, the reconciliation can usually take place very soon, that is to say, within a few months.

On the other hand, the tumasiri' frequently have reasons of their own to refuse a reconciliation, reasons which the superior on his part also understands and accepts. When a man had been stabbed to death during his flight and the woman shortly thereafter married an outsider, an attempt at reconciliation failed because it was argued that it was necessary to wait until her brother had returned from jail where he was now held for manslaughter through her fault.

For a man who fled with the niece (kamanakang) of his wife who had lived in his house as a young girl, no reconciliation
[694
835] could be brought about. The fact that he had fled with a housemate was reason for the kinsmen to feel especially siri'. His crime in this case was considered very great.

After the flight of a man with his wife's sister, where the wife should have first received the talak because, according to Moslem law, a man may not be married to two sisters at once, reconciliation was refused since the first wife was still "unhappy." /234/ Not until she was remarried, so it was believed, would the reconciliation be possible.

627 /*234 cont.*/ After the flight of a man with a higher woman, it is practically impossible to bring about a reconciliation (1). In all these cases it was therefore believed that there was a reason for the wife's kin group to feel more than usually *siri'*, and as a consequence reconciliation also took longer than usual.

The *tumasiri'* who make the decision in these reconciliation
593 matters that is followed by all kinsmen are the
627 closest male kinsmen, more specifically the father and the (oldest) brother of the woman. In case of a conflict between the two, the father declared in a certain case that he was leaving the matter to his son to regulate. In so doing, he externally maintained his position as leader in the family whom the sons must obey, but in reality it was his son who carried through his wishes. The influence of the woman's
562 mother and sisters is small in these *siri'* matters. They are
593 expected not to concern themselves with these things. *Siri'*
627 matters touch upon life and death; they are men's problems. An older woman may at some point confidentially make the observation to one of the older men that by now surely enough time has passed since the flight, but there is no reason to assume that any notice is taken of such a remark. In these matters women merely furnish their cooperation in subordinate matters such as the filling of the *kampu*, the baking of the cookies, and the preparation of the feast.

627 It is said that after the reconciliation great care is taken that all the wife's kinsmen, thus all the *tumasiri'*, receive
602 a number of the cookies brought by the couple. For whoever has eaten of these cookies can never say later on that he was not in agreement with the reconciliation, and this implies that he will not make an attempt at stabbing during a later encounter

---

1. An exceptional case was reported on page 125.

602
627 /234 cont./ with the tumannjala. The acceptance of the cookies is therefore the overt sign that one is in accord with the reconciliation.

The limits of the kin group -- in the first chapter it was described in detail -- are vague. It is therefore impossible to include all those who must receive cookies /235/. At best, therefore, one sees to it that these cookies are offered to the houses of the prominent kinsmen and especially to those of leading men. But the individual who is not content with the reconciliation can easily avoid the cookies. The distribution of the cookies is an outward form which has little significance for the actual relationship. Nor does it seem that it had more significance formerly and that we are therefore dealing here with a so-called "outworn adat."

The same applies to the statement that a tamannjala being pursued is safe from a stab by the tumasiri' pursuing him, if he throws his cap inside the fence of the yard belonging to a kampong head or other functionary. People like to tell of this custom and add that this was formerly the case and that it should really be this way. Recent instances are unknown, however. It always remains a moot question whether, and if so to what extent, the pursuer adhered to this custom even in former times.

Cap and cookies adats are instances of forms which arise where strong feelings demand formalization. For the actual course of events they are of little importance.

684
593
588 It is impossible for a woman who has fled and has been left alone, for instance because her husband has died, to bring about a reconciliation with her kinsmen. One other means is nonetheless available to her. She can surrender herself to the mercies of her kin group. Thus a crying woman unexpectedly entered the house of her parents from which she had fled about six years earlier. "Kill me if you wish, here I am," were her words. She gave as the reason for her return the fact that she longed desperately for her mother. Her

684 /235 cont./ arrival aroused a great commotion, but the
593 situation that had thus arisen was accepted, and she was
588 henceforth not regarded as tumannjala. However, such cases remain a rarity.

Even married women resort to this method, though very rarely, if a reconciliation in the customary manner seems impossible. This was done by a woman, for instance, whose husband had taken a second wife and who was now receiving insufficient means of support from him. The same was also done by a childless woman. The action is regarded as a deed
[627] of desperation. In performing it the woman runs the risk of being killed, for in so doing she delivers herself to her brothers who would stab her to death, or at least /236/ would have to make an attempt at doing so in case of an accidental meeting in public. However, her act of desperation has as a consequence that the latter no longer feel the urge to stab. She who originally made them siri' now shows herself lesser than they.

Declaration of Death

There is also a way for the tumasiri' to escape the need to behave as tumasiri'. This is the "declaration of death." "I no longer have a child, neither in this world nor in the hereafter" (1), are the customary words. It is also said that

1. Tenamo anakku rilino nariahereka.

the child is "declared dead" (2) by the one who has spoken

2. Nimateangi.

these words, that he has cast it out (3), that it is no longer

3. Natallaki ana'na.

684 593 588 /236 cont./ recognized by him as his child (4). This declaration sometimes takes place in the mosque in the presence of the imam and other prominent men of the adat community. This simply adds more force to the words. The declaration can also be made at home without any intentional witnesses.

The utterance of the words may, in the first instance, be coupled with some ritual in the form of offering psang. On that occasion the religious official recites the initial words of the Koran. It is said that thereby the Prophet is regarded as another witness to the utterance of the declaration (5).

Modern Islamites repudiate this ritual. They speak contemptuously of "the pisang reading" (amattja unti).

The consequence of this declaration of death, which is closer to the Islamic than the ancestral world, is not that a child is thereby regarded as disinherited. The religious judge (sjarat) took no account of it in regulating the personal estate of a man who had declared his daughter dead.

In practice it seems to be principally the father of the
593 fled woman who at present makes use of such a declaration.
588 Her brothers do not do so; they do not regard themselves bound
684 by their father's declaration. They consider themselves free,
627 both in their attempts to kill her, as well as in giving their
assent to the reconciliation. /237/ Repeatedly, a tacit recall takes place as the father later also gives his consent to the reconciliation. But it also has happened that a reconciliation came about with all the tumasiri' except the woman's parents.

---

4. Nisassali rimanggena.

5. Nipappisa'biangi rina'bia.

593 /237 cont./ In yet another case the brothers and cousins of
588 the woman tacitly agreed with the declaration uttered by
684 their father. In this case she had fled to a lower man, and
therefore the *tumasiri'*, as they asserted, could not act as is
627 otherwise customary after *silariang*.

Frequently, a special reason can be given for the deposition of such a declaration of death. The fact that a man regularly walked past the house of his wife's father in an insolent manner before the reconciliation, when he should have kept himself outside the view of his *tumasiri'* as much as possible was a reason for the latter to feel extra *siri'*.
Another man whose daughter had gone to live with a distant
593 kinsman at the *pasar* of Borongloë and who was there receiving
684 various men saw in this a reason to repudiate her.

684 The declaration of death seems to be a new institution.
It relieves the *tumasiri'* of their duty to stab. On the other
627 hand, it makes a reconciliation difficult. The fact that
[177] existing ties are considered to be completely broken
diminishes both the chance of stabbing as well as of reconciliation.

If *siri'* feelings, which in affairs concerning women can only be reconciled by death, could in future increasingly be satisfied by a declaration of death, we would have here an opportunity of solving the conflict in a manner less harmful to the many men who at present now realize that the honor of their related group is too dearly paid for by a jail sentence of an average of eight years. /238/

SUMMARY

105 In Makassarese culture four different forms of grouping can be distinguished, each with its own function.

/238 cont./ With reference to the /nuclear/ family, the sexual and pedagogical function can be named. The household has an economic function. It provides for the daily necessities of life of its members in the field of food supply and lodging. The kin group has a political function. It carries the idea of power formation. The worship community, finally, has a religious function. At the same time, the communities with an ornament seem to be more strongly integrated than those without an ornament.

The /nuclear/ family displays the tendency toward living /with other families/ in a single house, a tendency which is always interrupted by a tendency to split off. This brings with it a great mobility within the kin group. The tendency to split off seems, like the adjallo' phenomenon, to be a form of maladjustment.

The territorial unit, the kampong, served as the starting point for the investigation.

In a single territory, a strongly integrated, a weakly integrated, and a nonintegrated kin group were found to exist. The members of the first group appeared to be highest in standing, the most numerous, and the wealthiest. From their midst came the village functionaries.

The members of the second group seemed to be lower in standing and to be less numerous and less rich than the first. Among them there was only a single functionary, a gurukampong, who, moreover, needed the help of a functionary from the first group in order to be effective outside his group.

The members of the third group as a whole were lower in standing than those of the second. Their number, however, was greater than -- and in wealth they were about equal to -- those of the second group. Among them there was only a single village functionary, who had been elected to this

105 /238 cont./ post on the basis of his personal qualities. The low standing of the members of this group is the result of the absence of integration, which prevents this group from participating as a group in the striving for power formation.

/239/ The striving for power formation on the part of a kin group is aimed at filling a single territory under a head of its own. The largest imaginable territory is, ideally, the world; realistically it is at present at the most South Celebes.

Each kin group, even the smallest imaginable, that is, a /nuclear/ family living separately, has the possibility of extending the number of its members and of occupying a strong position of power through attracting relatives and helpers and through contracting marriages.

Provided he possesses the required qualities, each individual has the opportunity of acquiring the highest imaginable standing as the head of a powerful kin group. In practice this opportunity is only rarely realized, however, and even then only partially.

The striving on the part of individuals to rise is limited by the idea that descent determines a person's qualities, so that the member of a high group is thought to possess, at least potentially, desirable qualities to a high degree and the member of a lower group is believed to possess them to a lesser degree.

The vertical tendency expresses itself in the relations between the kin groups through the conduct of opposition. Each group on the one hand tries to dominate a higher group and, on the other hand, to keep as subordinates those groups regarded as lower. Each individual who shows that he possesses the qualities required for this can assume leadership in this attempt.

In the highest groups the vertical tendency is weakest and integration is to be found most strongly present. In the groups that have the lowest standing, thus in the Rest groups, 105 /239 cont./ the vertical tendency is strong, and integration is either not present at all or else in a very weak form. In kin groups like that of the adat community head, that of the kapala and that of Mangenre, the striving for integration is time and again interrupted through oppositional striving. The vertical tendency and thus, at the same time, the disintegration of the group can best be observed among the prominent members.

In a kin group where an ornament is present, integration can always be more clearly shown than in one where the ornament is absent. Kin groups lacking an ornament seem incapable of forming a power center of significance. Stability, on the other hand, is found only where the vertical articulation is fixed. The vertical tendency inherent in the /240/ kin groups constantly has as a consequence the renewed disintegration of these groups.

262 South Celebes is a land with a large surface, in relation to its population, suited to wet rice cultivation. If the rice harvest has failed, maize is available to take its place. There seems to be no fear of a threatening food shortage among the Makassarese and Buginese.

855 Small children are well cared for over a long period of time by their mothers and female housemates. By the same token, there seems to be no fear of receiving insufficient care.

867 155 One of the first things a young person learns is the fact that he is restricted in his movements and that he must be quiet when a man, even his father, is present in the house. Upon the arrival of a male guest the women and children withdraw from the front room, and the children are reprimanded if they make noise. This happens to a greater degree when a higher person comes to the house. Here are the first frustrations for the children (1).

155 /240 cont./ 1. For the ideas followed
867 here, see A. Kardiner, The Individual and His Society, fourth edition, New York, 1947, pp. 21 ff.

554 Among the men of between fifteen and thirty-five years
of age, one finds constant striving to outdo another.
571 Each contemporary of the same or of almost the same
578 descent is a potential opponent for them in their striving to
rise. However, a two-fold brake affects the realization of
this striving.

In the first place, the social forms with respect to members of the same /nuclear/ family toward a higher and toward an older person are highly formalized. As soon as the restraints here applied are removed, a strong aggression finds expression. Men who drink at a feast avoid the higher people who are present there. When the young adat community head came to my house one evening drunk, he spoke in an angry tone about nothing but the failings of his father and the obstacles that the latter was always putting in his way.

The stiff relationship to the older male housemates brings with it the fact that the young men prefer to wander around outside. -

521 In the second place, there are restrictions with regard
554 to the /241/ institutions in which the striving to outdo another
576 finds expression. Boasting about the splendor of a festival
in one's group of relatives is done as a matter of course, but
a man may not brag about his possessions, his sawahs, cattle,
[685] and valuables. He must be modestly silent about them. The
theft of cattle is a frequent phenomenon; it is a form of outdoing another. But the theft of other goods practically does not occur. If it does, it is regarded as a despicable deed.

554 Each act of outdoing, large or small, imagined or real,
571 has as a consequence that the other feels his social standing

554 /241 cont./ to be impaired. Then it is said of him that he
571 feels *siri'*, and he is expected to react by outdoing the successful rival in his turn. A slight victory is avenged moderately, and a severe one is severely avenged.

554 612 684 689 [562] It has been noted that the related group is a vaguely delimited group and that the standing of relatives among each other is uncertain. No fixed vertical articulation is to be found -- with one single exception: the *karaeng* and the people. The only fixed point turned out to be the woman's position, attached to the *sunrang*. An attack upon a close female relative touches a Makassarese in one of the very few institutions that provide him with a feeling of stability. A [762] normal response seems impossible in such a case. Suicide does not occur. It is believed that there is no other solution for this conflict than that a man kills the person who attacked him in this, for him, socially important point. In such a case one likewise speaks of *adjallo'*. This killing is tied further to a multiplicity of forms. There are also many opportunities for avoiding it. The marriage by flight complex is an example of this.

562 Man and woman are regarded as complements of each other with respect to the qualities they are supposed to possess. Only together do they form a whole.

834 It is believed that if an (unmarried) man and woman are together without a third, forbidden contact must exist between them. The evil initiative is thought to emanate from the man, and a woman who has entered into a contact situation is merely reprimanded for not having been careful enough. /242/

156 In reality, however, men as well as women often appear to possess other qualities than those that are ascribed to them on the basis of their sex.

156 /242 cont./ Among the men who possess to a low degree
833 the qualities established as a norm for them, there are to be
found the "kawe kawe," the unmarried men, the married men
838 who refuse to have sexual intercourse with their wives, and
possibly the koro patients. It is impossible for me to indicate
the boundary between a lack of the qualities demanded by
the culture and a supposed lack.

156 Among the women who possess the qualities ascribed to
them to a small degree, one finds the prostitutes and also
[548] matrons and bride's mothers, and those who perform the
ancestral ritual, all of whom owe their standing to their work,
which serves to raise the standing of the community. Among
these there are also the princesses, who in these countries
frequently played a dominant role. Among females in this
[562] position there is none of the docility left, which is expected
in women.

/248/ Appendix

114 Figures drawn from registers constitute a welcome addition
to the data that could not have been obtained otherwise,
127 or only with great difficulty through verbal information.
However, in making use of register material, there is a danger
that the degree of its reliability will not be sufficiently
realized.

Data based on registers always make a precise impression. The collector is inclined to believe in their reliability himself. But the reliability can only be judged through an acquaintance with the culture in which they are used. A number of "mistakes" in the registers can be immediately understood as a result of ideas present in that culture. They raise the demand for care in the comparison of figures with other regions.

127 /248 cont./ At this point we shall examine a number of registers to see for what purposes it is possible to use figures taken from them and for what purposes they cannot be used; if possible we shall at the same time give the reasons for our opinion.

The following registers were found in the adat community:

1. birth registers
2. death registers
3. marriage registers
4. divorce registers
5. land-tax registers
6. Indonesian notary registers
7. registers of reported misdemeanors
8. sentences handed down by courts of law
9. community labor registers
10. overnight registers
11. registration registers
12. school registers

Birth Registers

[193] 217 163 114 The imam of the adat community maintains the birth registers according to instructions passed on to him by the Kali of Goa. In the columns appear next to each other the names of the father, the mother, and the child; the kampong where the birth took place; a record of the fact whether the birth took place at night or during the day, the date of birth, and the sex of the child.

/249/ Notification is made when the child is a few weeks old. If the child dies before registration, the latter ordinarily does not take place, therefore. During a stay of six weeks I observed two such cases. These registers therefore cannot supply any reliable figures concerning infant mortality.

114 /249 cont./ There is no punishment for failure to register.
163 The reason that people do not like to register a child that has
217 just been born is the belief that this would bring about misfortune
because it is conceived as an expression of arrogance or pride.
[777 For the same reason a newborn child is wrapped in old rags.
751] There is no certainty that the births recorded in a year represent
the correct number.

A woman by preference has her first child in the house of her
[844] parents, especially if she herself was also born there. Many
children are therefore registered in a kampong where their parents
no longer live and from which it again "moves" a few months
after birth.

A child does not receive a name directly at birth for the
[553] same reason that a child's birth is not directly reported. All boys
are referred to as Baso or Batjo, all girls as Basse or Batje. In
this semianonymity the child is considered safe. Only years
later does it receive a name of its own, which, however, is not
recorded in the register. A certificate of birth is not submitted.

Death Registers

114
217 In the death registers that are likewise maintained by the
165 imam for the entire adat community (around 14, 000 inhabitants),
the following data are found reported in parallel columns: the
[793] name of the deceased, his sex, his age; the kampong in which
he died, whether he died during the night or during the day, the
date of his death, the final illness, and sometimes a few remarks
concerning heirs and estate.

The reasons indicated for the death are very much those of
[761] a layman; the imam bases them upon complaints uttered during
the final illness; stomach-ache, coughing, sometimes old age,
are found recorded in this category. /250/

Thus, these registers must also be handled with care.
Neither age nor reason for death can be regarded as reliable.

/250 cont./
Marriage Registers

114 217 585 In the columns of the marriage registers are found in order: the bridegroom's name, his estimated age, the kampong of his residence; his father's and mother's name, their place of residence, or else the fact that they are deceased. The same is entered for the bride. Then follows the name and place of residence of the *wali* and his kin relationship to the wife, or else the fact that the *wali haking* functioned; the date of the marriage ceremony, the formula of the *talak al takli'* (Makassarese: *djandji tala'*); the amount of the bride price (*sunrang*); the fact that the *sunrang* was paid or else borrowed, what part was paid in money and what part in exactly defined goods; a fingerprint of the bride's thumb or of her father's in case the latter is still alive; the name of the marriage official and of the witnesses, and finally a column of remarks.

In Borongloë, marriages by flight are registered along with the ordinary, or festive marriages. This is to say, therefore, that in general marriages of fleeing couples from elsewhere are registered in Borongloë, and that marriages of fleeing couples native to Borongloë are recorded elsewhere. The tendency to flee to Macassar seems to be greater than the other way around. In Macassar, some imams have special registers to record marriages by flight. Only after a certain length of time has elapsed does the couple return home. The total number of marriages registered in Borongloë is therefore not the same as the number of married couples.

In the case of marriage by flight, the *sunrang* always amounts to 20 reals. In view of the fact that otherwise the *sunrang* is an index, the number of marriages with 20 reals is in itself not indicative of status conditions.

The age of the marrying couples must be treated with caution, as was already remarked in the discussion of child marriage.

/250 cont. /

Divorce Registers

114 The divorce registers are kept by the Kali of Goa for a part
217 of the province of Goa that comprises several adat communities.
586 /251/ This is an administrative problem which is regulated differently according to locality. During the Japanese occupation, when it was considered unsafe to travel, the Imam of Borongloë temporarily was also authorized to register divorces.

The maintenance of these four types of personal registers was poor. Registers of a few years back were in such a deplorable state that it was no longer fruitful to consult them. Before these registers can develop into a Registrar's Office, a good many improvements will first have to be made.

Land-tax Registers

114 In the land-tax registers each plot of land whose boundaries
217 are very precisely indicated is to be found with the name of
651 the person who pays the tax on it. This may be the Indonesian
423 owner. A woman's plots are regularly recorded in the name of her husband or, if she is unmarried, in the name of her oldest brother. Younger brother's plots are frequently entered in the name of the oldest.

Registration of land is done by kampong territory. It is possible to calculate the average landownership per head and per house. It is impossible to say how many are "large landowners" -- assuming that one would want to consider someone who possesses more than five hectares as such, for instance, for by entering a part of his land in the name of his wife or children, the total ownership of one man can no longer be traced through these land registers.

The land-tax service places the taxpayer and the Indonesian owner practically on a par. Jurisprudence, however, does not simply connect with Indonesian property rights the fact that someone is entered in the land-tax registers.

114 217 423 651 /251 cont./ The land-tax registers make a distinction between lands in Indonesian possession and lands that have been taken in pawn. In a calculation of the averages of the sawah areas, these two types of land must be added together. The land-tax registers are in excellent condition.

The Indonesian Notary

114 217 675 425 The so-called Inland Notary, kept in the adat community office, which before the war began to assume an increasingly important task, was still not up to prewar /252/ standards in mid-1949. In 1940, 318 transactions were registered in Borongloë, in 1946 and 1947, 36 and 56 respectively.

The purpose of this institution is to further legal certainty. Parties which enter into a transaction, can report this to the head concerned, and the latter is then obligated to enter this transaction in the register, and at the same time to give to both parties a summary of what was recorded by him.

In the columns are recorded in order: name and place of residence of the purchaser; name and place of residence of the seller; a description of the article; then its boundaries are indicated if it is land, and its characteristics if it concerns a buffalo; the sum that is paid or -- in case of an exchange -- the article with a similar description; and finally, the further agreements that are made subsequent to this transfer.

The adat community head makes an entry of the transaction if the local well-informed head of the kampong where the land is situated or from which the buffalo comes tells him that he has heard no objections against the transaction. The institution was popular because the native courts of law especially attached much value to the summaries produced by purchasers or pawnees at their sessions.

The personal care and interest for this institution on the part of the local heads varies greatly, and it is upon this that the number of transactions recorded appears to be directly

114 /252 cont./ dependent. Comparison of the figures accordingly
217 indicates little concerning the actual number of transactions
675 carried out in the respective territorial sections. A general
425 impression can be derived from this register of what is transacted in a certain region. But no conclusions can be drawn with respect to the number of transactions.

Of the 31 transactions recorded in 1948, 6 concern the transfer of a sawah; 5 the transfer of a piece of dry land; 16 the sale of buffaloes, and 2 the transfer of a sewing machine.

The number of buffalo sales probably approaches the actual number most closely, since in the case of transportation -- which is necessary in the sale to one residing outside the seller's adat community -- a buffalo pass is necessary, and some heads exercise a certain pressure for registration in the registry /253/ of the Indonesian Notary when such a pass is issued. The land transactions do not approximate the actual number by an estimated tenth part.

Misdemeanor Registers

114 In the register of misdemeanors (Rappor Kedjahatan),
217 which is also kept in the adat community office, the violations
674 and misdemeanors that are reported there are entered, and at
the same time those against whom the evidence is reported.
In the first six months of 1948, 15 were reported there, that is:
9 buffalo thefts, 2 maltreatments, 1 threat with the badik, 2
minor thefts, and 1 assault on a woman. Eight of the 9 buffalo
[177] thefts remained unsolved. This register was not introduced
until 1948; little can as yet be said about its effect.

Registers of Legal Matters

114 The registers of legal matters which are divided into civil
217 and criminal, are kept in the adat community office of Borongloe
671 when they concern "minor" matters that come up before the

114 /253 cont./ Minor Native Law Court (Hadat Ketjil) of
217 Borongloe. The registers of "major" matters handled by the
671 Native Law Court (Hadat Besar) of Goa are to be found in the
provincial office in Sungguminasa. In the civil registers are listed name and place of residence of the parties; the demand and the answer; the statements by the witnesses, the decision of the judge, and a single consideration in which is stated how the judge arrived at his decision. Relatively the same applies to criminal matters. These considerations are not directly comparable to those found in the registers of government judges.

Community-Labor Register

114 The kampong head has a register with the names of the
217 men in his kampong who are subject to government corvée,
651 nowadays community labor. This, however, does not list the
total number of men able to work because a few kinsmen of the head and a few kampong functionaries are exempted from such labor, and because many heads are inclined to extend the number of exemptions according to their own judgment in order to strengthen their position in the kampong. This register is poorly kept. Old registers are not preserved.

/254/ Overnight Register

114 The kampong head keeps an overnight register (buku
217 bermalan) in which the person who spends the night in a kampong
486 is recorded by his name, his place of residence, the duration
of his stay, and name of his host. Its purpose during the turbulent years of 1946 and 1947 was to exercise a certain control over strangers who came into the kampong. Now that this control is no longer so important, a name is entered only now and then so that the book will not be completely blank when a checkup is made. More than 90 per cent of overnight stays were not noted, so far as I was able to observe. The register therefore is of no use in measuring a certain horizontal mobility.

/254 cont./ Registration Register

114 The Registration Register is, in view of its makeup,
probably designed to give a picture of the number of able-bodied
217 men and the tax to be rendered by them in each kampong
161 territory.

[651] Next to the column in which the name of the man is recorded, there is one showing the number of his wives, his children, buffaloes, and horses; his profession, his age, the amount he must pay in income tax, and so forth. Unmarried and able-bodied young men have their own place in the register. The youngest of these was nineteen years old.

This register cannot serve to indicate the total number of residents because houses in which a widow lives with children are not recorded. If a young man is around nineteen years of age, he receives a place in the register, but not his mother and younger brothers and sisters. Houses without a male head of the family are therefore not included in it.

The register apparently was not kept up regularly. Some newborn children were not entered, and some deceased were not written off. I was told by the administration that the total number of those entered increased by 10 per cent after the distribution of kain was done on the basis of this register. This 10 per cent appeared to consist mainly of unmarried women and girls.

Compared to my own card system of the residents of /255/ Bontoramba, 17 men (or boys) and 104 women (or girls) were not registered, altogether 121, or around 15 percent, for a total of 803 residents. The increase of 10 per cent just mentioned had already taken place then.

The estimated age is recorded only for the men entered in the register. The observation made in the 1930 Census Report, that age estimates are unreliable was here confirmed. A man of 47 years appeared to have a son of 38. Several men would have been fathers in their twelfth year. The oldest man of the kampong was estimated at 66 years of age. In these

114 /255 cont./ estimates there appeared to be a clear preference
217 for certain numbers which, in my opinion, make it risky to
161 draw further conclusions from this. Eleven men were estimated
as 40 years of age, 10 as 50, and 9 as 52; but according to this estimate, only 2 men were 39 years old, only one 41 or 42 years old, while there were supposedly no men of 51, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, and 59 years of age residing in the kampong.

School Registers

114 The school registers, which are kept very accurately by the
217 head of the school and checked by inspectors of the Department,
871 are in very good condition.

Each child is entered in the register according to name, sex, name of the father, and name of the person paying the tuition; date of entrance, grade promotions, date of leaving school, and reason for leaving school. The children's place of residence is not entered in the register.

Up to 1945 the public school in Bontomanai was the only school in the adat community of Borongloë with its more than 14, 000 inhabitants. This school was established in 1923 but led a rather precarious existence until 1936. The number of pupils was small. In the second half of 1935 a new director of the school was appointed, and the number of pupils immediately soared steeply. The number of newly enrolled pupils numbered:

1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940
12	70	37	78	64	17

Altogether, therefore, 278 children were enrolled, of whom 197 (72 per cent) were boys, and 81 (28 per cent) girls. The decrease in 1940 is due to the circumstance that the Inspector believed /256/ that there were too many pupils at the school and that the instruction was suffering from this.

For the instruction at this three-year public school there was, in addition to the school director mentioned, a single assistant instructor. The two men divided up the three classes in such a way that one class in turn was free or else worked by itself.

114 /256 cont./ Of these 278 children, 60 received a graduating
217 diploma. The rest left school for various reasons which are
871 recorded in the school's register. For 95 the reason given was laziness; for 49, their own request; for 29 illness; for 23, transfer to another school, for instance in connection with the parents moving; for 14, lack of money; and for 8, the fact that they were too small.

Laziness has reference not only to the achievements at school, but also to attendance at school, and children who live as far as two kilometers or more are with greater difficulty induced to cover this great distance every day, than those who live near by in the vicinity.

Under "own request" many girls are included who are regarded by their parents or other kinsmen as too big to walk on the street. Girls above twelve years of age, but frequently even those over ten, are preferably kept at home.

The poor payment of tuition was a reason for removing a child from school, particularly during the last two years. At that time the school had sufficient pupils. One does not need to jump to the conclusion that poor people's children were here especially prejudiced in the opportunities for development. Frequently, these parents are no poorer or richer than others, they just won't spare the tuition money.

The fact that pupils were too small was only given as a reason for leaving school in 1939. This must be regarded as due to the fact that the number of pupils was considered to be too large and because the Inspector believed that instruction was suffering from this.

125 In 1949 an attempt was made to discover the residence of the 278 pupils enrolled from 1935 through 1940. This attempt must be regarded as a failure. In 1949, 104 children were still living in the same kampong; 12 had moved to a kampong outside Borongloë, 1 to a kampong outside Goa, and 7 were dead.
Of the great majority (154) the place of residence was /257/
[115] unknown. I assume that by far the greatest part of these no longer

/257 cont./ resided in the same kampong because my informant, 125 the school director himself, was very well informed about [115] local conditions and accordingly would have been quite familiar, in most cases, with the domicile if this had remained unchanged. But no positive answer was forthcoming to the question concerning the domicile of 154 ex-pupils. There was no time to investigate this matter in another way.

871 There is a certain correlation between the number of pupils who went to school in Bontomanai from a certain kampong during those years and the distance that these children had to cover. The numbers and the distances in kilometers follow here:

80 from Bontomanai itself
77 from Pakatto, about 1 kilometer
25 from Borong, 2.5 kilometers
24 from Songkolo, 2.5 to 3 kilometers
20 from Kotjikang, 2.5 kilometers
15 from Parang Banua, 4 to 5 kilometers
13 from Borongkaluku, 2.5 kilometers
8 from Bontoramba, 5 kilometers
5 from Bontoa, 6 kilometers
4 from Buttadidi, 4 kilometers
3 from Bolangi (1), 4 kilometers

1. Kampong of an adjoining adat community.

2 from Borongpalala, 3 kilometers
1 from Bonto Bonto, 6 kilometers

There were no pupils from two kampongs.

One of these kampongs is situated 7 kilometers from Bontomanai and 3 kilometers from another place with a school. The children therefore went there.

[487] All the kampongs mentioned are connected with Bontomanai by means of good footpaths, with the exception of Borongpalala.

871 /257 cont./ The children who come from there must walk over muddy footpaths. Parang Banua and Bontoa are cut off from the other kampongs by a large river, the Djeneberang. The large number of children from Parang Banua is therefore striking. Here live many kinsmen of the adat community head who, as he said, always urged his kin group to send their children to school.

The total number of residents of a kampong, the communication routes, /258/ and the example set by a head thus constitute the less important factors influencing school attendance, aside from the distance that has to be covered. A new school provides direct proof of this.

In 1945 a new school was opened in Bontoramba. In July, 1949 it had an enrollment of 226 pupils, of whom a small number at that time already had left school again. Of these 226, there came:

from Bontoramba	60 (26 boys and 34 girls)
from Pagentungang	61 (40 boys and 21 girls)
from Buttadidi	53 (36 boys and 17 girls)
from Songkolo	35 (20 boys and 15 girls)

All three of the last-named kampongs border directly on Bontoramba. The new school director did not know the place of residence for 17 pupils. It is not recorded in the registers.

114
217 Herewith, the most important registers have been discussed. The most reliable and at the same time the ones that were best kept appear to be those registers for which a special service is responsible (school and land-tax registers). The least reliable and the ones that were most poorly maintained were those that had been put in the hands of the kampong head (overnight and community-labor registers). The condition of those in the hands of the religious officials (imams) or of the adat community heads is dependent upon the sense of neatness and order of the keeper concerned, upon the standing

114 /258 cont./ that he enjoys and which places him in a position to realize certain aspirations with respect to these registers, 217 and finally upon the orders and the control of their execution that proceeds centrally from the Kali to the imams, and from the administrative officials, now the Self-government members, to the adat community head.

/259/ Bibliography

113 114 As a starting point for this bibliography, I used the Bibliography of Indonesian Peoples and Cultures by Raymond Kennedy (1). A number of gaps were filled, and the list was brought up to date to January, 1950.

For practical reasons, Kennedy's division into "Celebes General" and "Makassarese-Buginese" was not followed, nor was the distinction between publications in Dutch and other languages used.

Not all the works cited by Kennedy could be consulted. It is possible, therefore, that a number of works were included which relate to North or Central, and not to South Celebes.

With a few exceptions, the publications that have appeared in the Adatrechtbundels have not been cited again separately under the name of the author.

---

1. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1945.

/259 cont./ Bibliography (Continued)

List of Abbreviations

Lijst van afkortingen.

AEO	Annales de l'Extrême-Orient. Paris.
AHV	De Aarde en Haar Volken. Haarlem.
AO	Acta Orientalia. Leiden.
BCI	Bulletin of the Colonial Institute. Amsterdam.
Bijd.	Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië. Den Haag.
CI	Cultureel Indië. Leiden.
D	Djåwå. Weltevreden.
G.	De Gids. Amsterdam.
GTNI	Geneeskundig Tijdschrift van Nederlandsch-Indië.
IAE	Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie. Leiden.
IG	De Indische Gids. Amsterdam.
Ind. Gen.	Indisch Genootschap. Den Haag.
ITR	Indisch Tijdschrift van het Recht. Batavia.
JIAEA	Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia. Singapore.
KS	Koloniale Studiën. Weltevreden.
KT	Koloniaal Tijdschrift.
MNZ	Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsch Zendelinggenootschap. Rotterdam.
MVGNI	Mededeelingen der Vereeniging der Gezaghebbers in Nederlandsch-Indië.

NBGKW	Notulen van de Algemeene en Directievergaderingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen. Batavia.
NGM	National Geographic Magazine. Washington.
NH	Natural History. New York.
NION	Nederlandsch-Indië Oud en Nieuw. Amsterdam, Den Haag.
NTNI	Natuurkundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië. Batavia.
Opw	De Opwekker.
PM	Petermanns Mitteilungen. Gotha.
PRGS	Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London. London.
TEG	Tijdschrift voor Economische Geographie. Den Haag.
Tijd.	Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde. Batavia.
Tijd. BB	Tijdschrift voor het Binnenlandsch Bestuur. Batavia.
TN	Tropisch Nederland.
TNAG	Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap. Amsterdam, Utrecht, Leiden.
TNI	Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië. Zalt-Bommel, Nijmegen, Bussum, Den Haag, Amsterdam.
VBGKW	Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen. Batavia.
VMKAW	Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen. Amsterdam.
WH	Wolandia Hindia.
ZE	Zeitschrift für Ethnologie. Berlin.
ZGEB	Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin. Berlin.

Abendanon, E. C., De afleiding van den naam Celebes. TNAG, 2e s., XXXV, 464—465. 1918.

—— De beteekenis van den naam Celebes. G, LXXXV, IV, 317—343. 1921.

Ably, P. S. J., Het kampongbestuur in de onderafdeling Wadjo (Celebes en onderhoorigheden). KT, 27, 531—553. 1938.

Adatrecht: Zuid-Celebes. ITR, CXXXI, 127—140; CXXXII, 317—331; CXXXV, 353—386, 407—408; CXXXVI, 209—213, 294—296; CXXXVIII, 512—516; CXXXIX, 344—346; CXLVII, 246—356; CXLIX, 321—324; CL, 313—325. 1930—1939.

Adatrechtbundels vzv. betrekking hebbend op Zuid-Celebes no. 1, 9, 10, 12, 17, 22, 25, 29, 31, 33, 36, 39 en 40.

Ahrens, W., and Maass, A., Etwas von magischen Quadraten in Sumatra und Celebes. ZE, LXVIII, 232—253. 1916.

1:Chabot--346 E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

/261/

Archeologisch onderzoek in Celebes. TNAG, 2e s., LV, 138—142. 1938.

Atlas (Ethnographische) bevattende afbeeldingen van voorwerpen uit het leven en de huishouding der Makassaren, geteekend door C. A. Schröder Jr., hoofdzakelijk dienende tot opheldering van het Makassaarsch woordenboek van B. F. Matthes. Amsterdam, 1859.

—— Idem der Boeginezen, geteekend door C. A. Schröder Jr., S. Batelt en Map. Eilers. Amsterdam, 1874.

Bakkers, J. A., De afdeeling Sandjai (Celebes). Tijd., XI, 265—273. 1862.

—— De eilanden Bonerate en Kalao. Tijd., XI, 215—264. 1862.

—— Het leenvorstendom Boni. Tijd., XV, 1—208. 1866.

—— Nota betreffende het particulier landbezit op Celebes. Tijd., XVI, 316—346. 1867.

—— Tanette en Barroe (Celebes). Tijd., XII, 255—356. 1862.

Bastian, A., Indonesien. 5 dln. Berlin, 1884—1894.

Beccari, O., Nuova Guinea, Selebes, Moluche. Firenze, 1924.

Bekker, B., Eine Hochzeits Zeremonie bei den Bugis. LM, VII, 304—306. 1937—1938.

Beknopte geschiedenis van het Makassarsche Celebes en onderhoorigheden. TNI, X, 3—77. 1847.

Bertling, C. T., Huwelijk en huwelijksrecht in Zuid-Celebes. ITR, CXLVII, 123—210. 1938.

—— Een hypothese omtrent de sociale structuur van Zuid-Celebes in verband met de stichtingsmythe van Wadjo. Bijd., CXVIII, 489—495. 1939.

Beschrijving van den levensloop van een Boeginees. Tijd. BB, VIII, 153—166. 1893.

Bezemer, T. J., Volksdichtung aus Indonesien. Den Haag, 1904.

Bickmore, A. S., Travels in the East Indian Archipelago. London, 1868.

Blink, H., Is Celebes een land voor Europeesche culturen? TEG, XVII, 24—26. 1926.

—— Produktie en uitvoer van rotan uit Celebes. TEG, XIX, 184—186. 1928.

Boni. IG, XXVII, II, 1184—1197. 1905.

Bosch, F. D. K., Buddha-beeld van Celebes' Westkust. Tijd., LXXIII, 495—513. 1933.

Bouman, M. A., Het Bakoewezen in Zuid-Celebes. KS, XII, I, 34—49. 1928.

Braam Morris, D. F. van, Geschiedenis van het bondgenootschap Masenrempoeloe of Masenre-Boeloe. Tijd., XXXVI, 149—151. 1893.

—— Het landschap Loewoe. Tijd., XXXII, 498—555. 1889.

—— Nota van toelichting op de contracten gesloten met de landschappen

Maiwa, Doerie, Kassa, Batoelappa, Alietta, Soeppa en Sawietto. Tijd., XXXVI, 152—230. 1893.

Brandstetter, R., Die Geschichte von Djajalankara. Luzern, 1898.

—— Die Gründung von Wadjo (Paupau Rikadong). Eine historische Sage aus Südwest-Selebes ins Deutsche übertragen. Luzern, 1896.

Brassey, A. A., The Last Voyage to India and Australia in the „Sunbeam." London, New York, 1889.

Brautigam, D. A. F., Nota betreffende het zelfbesturend landschap Tanette. Tijd., LVI, 445—476. 1914.

Brink, H. van den, Een tocht door Zuidwest- en Midden-Celebes. Opw., LXXXIV, 287—295. 1939.

—— Als de Makkassaar gaat trouwen. WH, 14. 1940.

—— Dr. Be[illegible]in Frederik Matthes, zijn leven en werken in dienst van h[illegible]rlandsch Bijbelgenootschap. Amsterdam, 1943.

Broersma, [illegible] uitvoerhandel van Makassar. TEG, XVI, 97—101. 1925.

Brooke, [illegible]tive of Events in Borneo and Celebes down to the Occu[illegible]abuan. 2 vols. London, 1848.

Brown, [illegible] Dutch East. London, 1914.

Budding, S. [illegible] Het Nederlandsche Gouvernement van Makassar op het eiland Celebes. Batavia, 1843.

Buddingh, S. A., Neerlands Oost-Indië. 3 dln. Rotterdam, 1859—1861.

Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van Celebes. TNI, XVI, II, 149—186, 213—253. 1854.

Cabaton, A., Les Indes Néerlandaises. Paris, 1910.

—— Java, Sumatra, and Other Islands of the Dutch East Indies. London, 1911.

Camerling, E., Ueber Ahnenkult in Hinter-indien und auf den grossen Sunda Inseln. Rotterdam, 1928.

Capellen, van der, Journaal van eene reis door de Molukko's. TNI, XVII, II, 281—315, 357—395. 1855.

Caron, L. J. J., Het handels- en zeerecht in de adatrechtsregelen van den rechtskring Zuid-Celebes. Utrecht, 1937.

Carpenter, F. G., Java and the East Indies. Garden City, 1925.

Catalogus van 's Rijks Ethnographische Museum. 23 dln. Leiden, 1910—1932.

Chabot, H. T., Het Inlandsch Notariaat in Zuid-Celebes. I.T.R., CXLVII, 211—217. 1938.

—— Eenige vonnissen van de inheemsche rechtbank (hadat) van Zuid-Celebes. ITR, CXLVII, 357—375. 1938.

—— Over de Makassaarsche samenleving en een erfrechtelijke kwestie. Tijd., LXXX, 325—337. 1940.

—— Steekpartijen in Goa. ITR, CXLIX, 327—344. 1939.

Clifton, V., Islands of Queen Wilhelmina. London, 1927.

Clune, F., To the Isles of Spice. London, Sydney, 1941.

Code (a) of Bugis Maritime laws, with a translation and vocabulary, giving the pronunciation and meaning of each word. Singapore, 1832.

Collins, G. E. P., East Monsoon. London, 1936.

—— Macassar Sailing. London, Toronto, 1937.

Commerce des Boughis. Extrait des Annales des Voyages, 2e série. Paris, 1825.

Conrad, J., Almayers folly.

Crawfurd, J., History of the Indian Archipelago. 3 dln. Edinburgh, 1820.

Damsté, H. T., Een Fransman over Celebes in 1688. (N. Gervaise: Description historique du royaume de Macaçar.) KT. 7. 1383—1398. 1918.

Daniel, H., Islands of the East Indies. New York, 1944.

Dissel, H. van, De particuliere landerijen in het gewest Celebes en Onderhoorigheden. Batavia, 1885.

Donselaar, W. M., Aanteekeningen over het eiland Saleijer. MNZ, I, 277—328. 1857.

—— Beknopte beschrijving van Bonthain en Boelecomba op Zuid-Celebes. Bijd., III, 163—188. 1855.

—— Proeve van de godsdienstige literatuur der Makassaren. MNZ, V, 84—119. 1861.

Drewes, G. W. J., Sech Joesoep Makasar. D, VI, 83—88. 1926.

Drieduizend gezinnen naar Tanah-Sabrang. IG, LXI, 567. 1939.

Dusen, H. P. van, Primitive Animists in the Celebes. Missionary Review, 131—132. 1939.

E., H., Een eigenaardig maïsgebied. TEG, XVI, 124. 1925.

Eck, R. van, Mangkasaren en Boegineezen. IG, III, II, 824—843, 1020—1040; IV, I, 60—77. 1881—1882.

Eerde, J. C. van, Investituursteenen in Zuid-Celebes. TNAG, 2[illegible] s. XLVII, 813—826. 1930.

—— De volken van Nederlandsch-Indië. 2 dln. Amsterdam, 1920—1921

Eerdmans, A. J. A. F., Ethnologische schetsen van Zuid-Celebes. Weekblad van Indië. 1906.

—— Het landschap Gowa. VBGKW, L. 1897.

Engelhard, H. E. D., Mededeelingen over het eiland Saleijer. Bijd., XXXII, 263—516. 1884.

Erkelens, B., Geschiedenis van het rijk Gowa. VBGKW, L. 1897.

Fairchild, D., Garden Islands of the Great East. New York, 1943.

Fischer, H. T., Eenige opmerkingen naar aanleiding van Friedericy's studie over de standen bij de Boegineezen en Makassaren. IG, LVI, 689—703. 1934.

Forbes, A., Reizen in den Indischen Archipel. TNI, 5e s., XVII, I, 161—197, 241—282, 365—388; II, 38—57. 1888.

113

Foy, W., Ueber den Namen Celebes. Dresden, 1899.

Fragment uit een reisverhaal. TNI, XVIII, I, 391—432; II, 1—38, 69—100, 141—160. 1856.

Friedericy, H. J., De Gowa federatie. Ab XXXI, 364—427. 1928.

—— Aanteekeningen over adat en adatrecht bij de Bonesche prauwvaarders. KT, 20, 490—504. 1931.

—— De Gowasche vorstengraven, de Gowasche huldigingssteenen en de Gowasche ornamenten. KT, 20, 630—634. 1931.

—— Ponre. Bijdrage tot de kennis van adat en adatrecht in Zuid-Celebes. Bijd., LXXXIX, 1—34. 1932.

—— De standen bij de Boegineezen en Makassaren. Bijd., XC, 447—602. 1933.

Fryke, C., and Schweitzer, C., A Relation of Two Several Voyages Made into the East Indies. London, 1700.

Een geëmancipeerd Boegineesch huishouden. Tijd. BB, V, 1891, 391—404. 1891.

Geloof aan booze geesten. ITR, LXVII, 382—385. 1896.

Genderen Stort, G. van, Heffingen van rechten op grond in Boegineesche en Makassaarse landen. Ab XXXI, 137—155. 1927.

Gersen, G. J., Topografische schets van de Berg-regentschappen der Noorder-Distrikten van Celebes. Tijd., XVI, 352—376. 1867.

Gervaise, N., Description historique du royaume de Macaçar. Paris, 1688.

Goedhart, O. M., Nota van toelichting bij de korte verklaring en beëediging door de Adatoewang en de hadatsleden van het landschap Sawito op den 27sten Mei 1908. Tijd., 52, 60—81. 1910.

—— Nota van toelichting omtrent het landschap Boentoe Batoe, behoorende tot de federatie Doeri. Tijd., 54, 572—587. 1912.

—— Nota van toelichting omtrent de federatie Doeri of Talloe-Batoe-Papan, bestaande uit de landschappen Maloewa, Allah en Boentoe Batoe. Tijd., 54, 554—571. 1912.

—— Nota van toelichting betreffende het zelfbesturend landschap Barroe. Tijd., LV, 557—584. 1913.

Goudswaard, A., Siwa-dienst in Zuid-Celebes. Karaëng-lowe. MNZ, IX, 75—103, 289—314. 1865.

Great Britain, Admiralty, Naval Intelligence Division. Manual of Netherlands India. London, 1920.

—— Foreign Office, Historical Section. Celebes, London, 1920.

Grondbezit onder de inlanders op Celebes. TNI, 4e s., VII, II, 131—146. 1878.

Grubauer, A., Celebes. Hagen, 1923.

Guillemard, F. H. H., and Keane, A. H., Australasia. II. London, 1908.

113

Gunning, C., Rechtspraak in burgerlijke zaken door gouvernementsrechters in Zuid-Celebes. ITR, CXXXI, 147—217. 1930.

H., J. J., Verkeerswezen in en om Celebes. TEG, XVII, 180. 1926.

Hamilton, A., and Foster, W., A New Account of the East Indies. 2 dln. London, 1930.

Harrebomée, G. J., Boegineesch bloed uit bijgeloof. Tijd. BB, VII, 354—366. 1892.

—— Een ornamentsfeest van Gantarang (Zuid-Celebes) tot bezwering der cholera. MNZ, XIX, 344—351. 1875.

Hart, C. van der, Reize rondom het eiland Celebes en naar eenige der Moluksche eilanden. Den Haag, 1855.

Hasselt, J. C. van, De onderafdeeling Bangkala. TNAG, IV, 362—381. 1880.

Heekeren, H. R. van, Ara, een nieuwe prehistorische vindplaats in Zuid-Celebes. TNAG, 2e s., LIV, 30—33. 1937.

—— De Liang Saripa, een neolithisch station nabij Maros (Zuid-Celebes). Tijd., LXXIX, 112—118. 1939.

—— Verslag van het onderzoek van een „rituele" tumulus te Lampokko (Bone). OV, 1941—1947, 85—88. 1949.

—— Rapport over de ontgraving van de Bola Batoe, nabij Badjo (Bone, Zuid-Celebes). OV, 1941—1947, 89—108. 1949.

—— Voorlopige mededeeling over palaeolitische vondsten in Zuid-Celebes. OV, 1941—1947, 109—110. 1949.

—— Preliminary note on palaeolithic finds on the island of Celebes. Chronica Naturae, 105, 5, 145—148. Batavia, 1949.

Herstel van het zelfbestuur van Goa. TNAG, 2e s., LIV, 115. 1937.

Hoëvell, G. W. W. C. van, Der Kris von Süd-Celebes. IAE, XVIII, 64—67. 1908.

Hoëvell, G. W. W. C. van, en Schmelz, J. D. E., Mitteilung über die Metalltrommel zu Bonto-Bangun (Insel Saleyer). IAE, XVI, 155—161. 1903.

Hogendorp, C. S. W. van, Beschouwing der Nederlandsche bezittingen in Oost-Indië. Amsterdam, 1833.

Hollander, J. J. de, Handleiding bij de beoefening der land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Oost-Indië. 2 dln. Breda, 1895.

Holt, C., Dance Quest in Celebes. London, 1939.

—— They Dance for Their Dead in Celebes. Asia, XXXIX, 86—93, 1939.

Holtus, W., Celebes. Onbekende gebieden en volken. Amsterdam, 1926.

Hooyer, D. A., Voorlopige mededeling over vondsten van Pleistocene gewervelde dieren in Zuid-Celebes. OV, 1941—1947, 111—112. 1949.

—— The pleistocene vertebrates of southern Celebes. Chronica Naturae, 105, 5, 148—150. Batavia, 1949.

113 Inlandsche emigratie naar Celebes. IG, LIX, 1119—1120. 1937.

Inlandsche wetten bij de hoven van Bonie en Goa (verzameld in het jaar 1759). ITR, VIII, 83—119. 1853.

Irrigatie op Celebes. TEG, III, 255—256. 1912.

Jacobsen, J. A., Reise in die Inselwelt des Banda-Meeres. Berlin, 1896.

Jaspers, J. H. B., Heiligverklaring bij de Boegineezen. AHV, LXI, 69—71. 1925.

—— De overblijfselen van het oude Goa-rijk. AHV, LVIII, 192—194. 1922.

—— Zeden en gebruiken bij de Makassaren. NION, X, 25—30, 49—54, 123—128, 139—146, 184—190, 211—217, 246—250, 259—263, 343—348. 1925—1926.

Just. Een paar uren te Bima en een paar dagen te Makassar. TNI, XVII, II, 236, 246. 1855.

K., C., De expeditie naar Zuid-Celebes in 1905. IG, LVII, 827—830. 1935.

Karbouwen (het verpanden van) in sommige streken van Bone. MVGNI, 1932.

Keers, W., Anthropologische beschouwingen over de bewoners van Zuid-West en Zuid-Midden Celebes. GTNI, LXXXI, 1783—1836. 1941.

Kennedy, R., Islands and Peoples of the Indies. Washington, 1943.

Kern, R. A., Een Makassaarsch heldendicht. KT, 20, 186—209, 278—296. 1931.

—— Gender in Buginese. AO, XVII, 229—234. 1939.

—— Catalogus van de Boegineesche, tot den I La Galigo-cyclus behoorende handschriften der Leidsche Universiteitsbibliotheek alsmede van die in andere Europeesche bibliotheken. Leiden, 1939.

Kielstra, E. B., Eenige aanteekeningen omtrent Zuid-Celebes. Amsterdam, 1896.

Kielstra, E. B., e.a. Zuid-Celebes voorheen en thans. Ind. Gen., 67—102. 1909—1910.

Kinderen, T. H. der, Gruwelen op Saleijer. ITR, XVI, 96—103. 1859.

Klaveren, L. M. van, Reisherinneringen van een bestuursambtenaar in Zuid-Celebes. AHV, LIV, 257—272. 1918.

Kolonisatie in Celebes. TNAG, 2e s., LV, 835. 1938.

De kolonisatie van Javanen op Borneo en Celebes. IG, LX, 1168. 1938.

Konijnenberg, F. van, Pamase als apanage in de noordelijke vlakte van Sidenreng. Tijd., LXVII, 347—357. 1927.

Kooreman, P. J., De feitelijke toestand in het gouvernements-gebied van Celebes en Onderhoorigheden. IG, V, I, 167—200, 358—384, 482—498, 637—655; II, 135—169. 1883.

Kooy, W. G., Gegevens over Soppeng. Ab XXXVI, 278—291. 1909.

Korn, V. E., Ervaringen uit Pare Pare en Soppeng. KT, 5, 758—768. 1916.

Kornrumpf, M., Mensch und Landschaft auf Celebes. Breslau, 1935.

Kriebel, J. C., Grond- en Waterrechten in de onderafdeeling Saleier (Celebes). KT, 8, 1086—1108, 1919.

—— Het eiland Bonerate. Bijd., LXXVI, 203—221. 1920.

Lagaay, J. H., Iets over de prauwenvaart van Celebes. ITR, CXLVII, 218—222. 1938.

Lahure, A., L'ile des Célèbes. Bruxelles, 1880.

—— L'ile de Célèbes. AEO, III, 116—118. 1880—1881.

Lamster, J. C., Social Organization in Borneo, Celebes and the Moluccas. BCI, I, 46—57. 1937—1938.

Le Roux, C. C. F. M., De rijksvlaggen van Bone. Tijd., LXX, 205—266. 1930.

Le Roux, C. C. F. M., en Cense, A. A., Boegineesche zeekaarten van den Indischen archipel. TNAG, 2e s., LII, 687—714. 1935.

Le Rütte, J. M. C. E., De schaking bij den Makassaar. Tijd., XLI, 300—323. 1899.

—— De strafbare schaking bij den Makassaar. ITR, LXXII, 87—100. 1899.

Leupe, P. A., Wetboek voor zeevarenden van het Koninkrijk Makassar en Boegie. TNI, XI, I, 305—317. 1849.

De levensgeschiedenis van Aroe Palaka. TNI, XIX, II, 86—105. 1857.

Ligtvoet, A., Geschiedenis van de afdeeling Tallo. Tijd., XVIII, 43—66. 1872.

—— Naamsafleiding van het rijk Balannipa in Mandar. Tijd., XXIII, 40—41. 1876.

—— Transcriptie van het dagboek der vorsten van Gowa en Tello. Bijd., XXVIII, 1—259. 1880.

—— De kolonel De l'Orme (= J. de Lort). Bijdr. XXV, 319—320. 1877.

—— Over ware en valsche Batara Goas.

Lion Cachet, C., Vormen van bestuur in Zuid-Celebes. TAG, LXVI, 57—68. 1949.

Lloyd Warner, W., Malay influence on the aboriginal cultures of North-eastern Arnhem land, Oceania, 2, 476—495. 1931.

Locher, G. W., Een merkwaardige taboeverschuiving in Zuid-Celebes. Oost en West. 1934.

Lyf, J. M. van, Kentrekken en problemen van de geschiedenis der Sa'dan-Toradjalanden. Indonesië, 1, 518—535. 1948.

Maan, G., Eenige mededeelingen omtrent de zeden en gewoonten der Toeratêya ten opzichte van den rijstbouw. Tijd., XLVI, 318—340. 1903.

—— Twee Makassaarsche verhalen. Tijd., LV, 213—222. 1913.

113 Mackellar. C. D., Scented Isles and Coral Gardens. London, 1912.

Makassaarsche historien. Tijd., IV, 111—145. 1855.

Makassaarsche scheepvaartovereenkomsten (Tripangvangst). Wet en Adat, III, 48, 1898.

Mallinckrodt, J., Gegevens over Mandar en andere landschappen van Zuid-Celebes. Ab XXXI, 303—429. 1928—1929.

Mantel, K., Oogstfeesten en grondenrecht in Soppengriadja. Ab XXXVI, 2871291. 1932.

Marle, V. J. van, Beschrijving van het rijk Gowa. TNAG, 2e s., XVIII, 932—953; XIX, 108—143, 373—403, 535—552. 1901—1902.

Matthes, B. F., Bijdrage tot de ethnologie van Zuid-Celebes. Den Haag, 1875.

—— Boegineesch heldendicht op den 1sten veldtogt van 1859. Makassar, 1862.

—— Boegineesch-Hollandsch woordenboek, met Hollandsch—Boegineesche woordenlijst, en verklaring van een tot opheldering bijgevoegden ethnographischen atlas. Den Haag, 1874.

—— Boegineesche chrestomatie. 3 dln. Amsterdam, 1872.

—— Beknopt verslag mijner reizen in de binnenlanden van Celebes in de jaren 1857 en 1861. Rotterdam.

—— Beknopt verslag van een verblijf in de binnenlanden van Celebes waar Boegineesch gesproken wordt, 24 April—24 October 1857.

—— Boegineesch Heldendicht op Daeng Kalaboe, waarin onder andere de dood van den ambtenaar T. Baron Collot d'Escury en de zegepraal der Hollandsche wapenen bezongen worden. Makassar, 1858.

—— Einige Eigentümlichkeiten in den Festen und Gewohnheiten der Makassaren und Buginesen. Travaux de la 6e Session du Congres international des Orientalistes à Leide, II. Leiden, 1884.

—— Eenige Makassaarsche en Boegineesche legenden. Jaarboekje Celebes, 1864.

—— Boegineesche en Makassaarsche legenden. Bijd., XXXIV, 431—494. 1885.

—— Boegineesche spraakkunst. Den Haag, 1875.

—— Eenige opmerkingen omtrent de Hollander's „Land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Oost-Indië" hetwelk handelt over het Gouvernement van Celebes en Onderhoorigheden. Bijdr. XIX, 1—91. 1872.

—— Eenige proeven van Boegineesche en Makassaarsche poëzie. Den Haag, 1883.

—— Makassaarsch-Hollandsch woordenboek, met Hollandsch-Makassaarsche woordenlijst. Amsterdam, 1859.

—— Makassaarsch-Hollandsch woordenboek; met Hollandsch-Makassaarsche woordenlijst en verklaring van een tot opheldering bijgevoegden atlas. Den Haag, 1885.

Matthes, B. F., De Makassaarsche en Boegineesche kotika's. Tijd., XVIII, 1—42. 1872.

—— Makassaarsche spraakkunst. Amsterdam, 1858.

—— Makassarsche chrestomathie. Oorspronkelijke Makassaarsche geschriften, in proza en poezy uitgegeven, van aanteekeningen voorzien en ten deele vertaald. Den Haag, 1883.

—— Over de Adá's of gewoonten der Makassaren en Boegineezen. VMKAW, III, 2, 137—189. 1885.

—— Over de bissoe's of heidensche priesters en priesteressen der Boeginezen. Amsterdam, 1872.

—— Over de Wadjorezen met hun handels- en scheepswetboek, Makassar, 1869.

—— Proeve eener Makassarsche vertaling des Korans. Bijd., V, 89—106. 1856.

—— Supplement op het Boegineesch-Hollandsch woordenboek. Den Haag, 1889.

Matthes, B. F., e.a. De zending in het zuiden van Celebes. MNZ, IV, 303—366. 1860.

Mededeelingen betreffende eenige Mandharsche landschappen. Bijd., LXII, 649—746. 1909.

Merlijn, H. J., Bontorio. Amsterdam, 1947.

—— Nocturne, Orientatie, 5, 18—21, 1948.

—— Vazal. Orientatie, 25, 16—23, 1949.

Meyer, A. B., and Richter, O., „Bronze"-Zeit in Celebes.

—— Celebes I. Sammlung P. und F. Sarasin aus den Jahren 1893—96. Mit Anhang: Die Bogen-, Strich-, Punkt- und Spiralornamentik von Celebes. Dresden, 1903.

—— Steinzeit in Celebes.

Meyer, A. B., Album von Celebes-Typen. Dresden, 1889.

Meyners d'Estrey, C., Les langues de Célèbes. AEO, IV, 1—4. 1881—1882.

Middendorp, W., Eenige antiquiteiten van Zuid-Celebes. Tijd., LXX, 102—107. 1930.

Miesen, J. H. W. van der, Het „Apakado mangirang" bij de Makassaren in de onderafdeeling Maros. KT, 3, 39—42. 1914.

Mordaunt, E., The Further Venture Book. London, 1926.

Müller, S., Reizen en onderzoekingen in den Indischen Archipel. 2 dln. Amsterdam, 1857.

Muller, W. C., Koffiecultuur in Zuid-Boné. TEG, IV, 139. 1913.

—— De toekomst van Zuid-Celebes. TEG, III, 389. 1912.

Mijsberg, W. A., De anthropologische beteekenis van de Toala's in Zuid-Celebes (op grond van metingen verricht door wijlen Dr. P. V. van Stein Callenfels). GTNI, LXXXI, 1275—1309. 1941.

113 Nederburgh, J. A., Nog eens over priesterraden. ITR, LXI, 279—306. 1893.

Niemann, G. K., Bijdrage tot de kennis der Boeginesche letterkunde. TNI, 4e s., IV, I, 85—98. 1875.

—— De Boegineezen en Macassaren. Bijd., XXXVIII, 74—88, 266—286. 1889.

—— Geschiedenis van Tanette. Boeginesche tekst met aanteekeningen. Den Haag, 1883.

—— De Latowa. Bijd., XXXII, 198—228. 1884.

—— Mededeelingen over Makassarsche taal- en letterkunde. Bijd., X, 59—88. 1862.

Nieuhoff, J., Voyages and Travels to the East-Indies. London, 1744.

Nieuwenhuis, A. W., De bevolking van Celebes. Indië, 1918.

Nijpels, G., Goa weer vorstendom. IG, LIX, 408—422. 1937.

—— Onze strijd in Zuid-West-Celebes tot 1838 en de daaruit te putten lessen. Batavia, 1902.

De nijverheid op Celebes. TNI, XVI, II, 345—372. 1854.

Nooteboom, C., Een besnijdenisfeest op Saleier. Tijd., LXXVII, 636—641. 1937.

—— Diremen in den Indischen archipel. CI, I, 347—351. 1939.

—— Economisch onderzoek van de inheemsche samenleving in Zuidwest-Celebes. KS, XXII, 624—632. 1938.

—— Het graf van de vorsten van Boeki te Silolo (Saleier). Tijd., LXXVII, 635—636. 1937.

—— Een grafspelonk op Kalao Toa. Tijd., LXXVI, 469—470. 1936.

—— Vaartuigen van Mandar. Tijd., LXXX, 22—33. 1940.

—— Naar aanleiding van de rijkssieraden van Zuid-Celebes. KT, 26, 167—176. 1937.

—— Een merkwaardig economisch spel op Saleier. KT, 27, 562—565. 1938.

—— Nogmaals: het Maha'ka van Saleier. KT, 28, 191. 1939.

—— Tondongkoera, een bergdorp in Zuid Celebes. Bijd., 104, 89 e.v. 1948.

—— Aantekeningen over de cultuur der Boeginezen en Makassaren. Indonesië, 2, 244—255. 1949.

Nota van toelichting betreffende het landschap Balangnipa. Tijd., LIV, 503—535. 1912.

Ormeling, F. J., Textielindustrie in Zuidwest-Celebes. TNAG, LXIV, 638—640. 1947.

Oosthoud Wijdenes, M. A. van, Celebes indrukken. De kroning van de koning van Goa. Tropisch Nederland, 10, 1937/1938.

Oudheidkundige vondsten in Zuid-Celebes. IG, LX, 182—184. 1938.

Overzicht van gepubliceerde beslissingen betreffende het adatrecht van Zuid-Celebes. ITR, CXLVII, 223—245. 1938.

Peddemors, M., Wadjo. Een federatieve staat in Celebes. MVGNI, 1937.

—— Het recht op de grond in het landschap Sidengreng. MVGNI. 1935.

P., M. C., De priesterrechtspraak in Zuid-West-Celebes. ITR, LX, 355—402. 1893.

Penard, W. A., De Patoentoeng. Tijd., LV, 515—543. 1913.

Perelaer, M. T. H., De Bonische expeditiën. Krijgsgebeurtenissen op Celebes 1859—60. 2 dln. Leiden, 1872.

Pinkerton, J., Voyages and Travels. XI. London, 1812.

R., Maïs van Celebes. TEG, XX, 167. 1929.

Raven, H. C., Makanan malayu. NH, XXXIV, 176—182. 1934.

Regtspraak volgens de adat op Celebes. ITR, XXVII, 53—60. 1876.

Reith, G. M., A Padre in Partibus. Singapore, 1897.

Resumé van het onderzoek naar de regten welke door de Inlandsche bevolking op de onbebouwde gronden worden uitgeoefend. Batavia, 1872—1877.

Richter, O., Unsere gegenwartige Kenntnis der Ethnographie von Celebes. Globus, LXXXVIII, 154—158, 171—175, 191—195. 1905.

De rijken en vorsten van het gouvernement van Makassar. TNI, XII, I, 416—431. 1850.

Rijnenberg, J., De Oost-Indische Archipel. Arnhem, 1871.

Rijneveld, J. C. van, Celebes, of veldtogt der Nederlanders op Celebes in 1824 en 1825. Breda, 1840.

Romondt, V. R. van, Bouwkunst in Indonesië. Orientatie, 22, 44—46. 1949.

Rookmaaker, H. R., Oude en nieuwe toestanden in het voormalige vorstendom Bone, IG, XLVI, I, 397—417, 508—527. 1924.

Rosenberg, H. von, Der malayische Archipel. Leipzig, 1878.

Saraber, F. H., De wereldproductie van maïs en die van Z.W.-Celebes in het bijzonder. TEG, XX, 434—437. 1929.

Sarasin, F., Versuch einer Anthropologie der Insel Celebes. Wiesbaden, 1906.

—— Ueber die Herkunft des Namens „Celebes". PM, L, 80. 1904.

Sarasin, P. und F., Reisebericht in Celebes. ZGEB, XXIX, 351—401; XXX, 226—234. 1894—1895.

—— Reisen in Celebes. 2 dln. Wiesbaden, 1905.

Scheltema, A. M. P. A., Deelbouw in Nederlandsch Indië. 74—92. Wageningen, 1931.

Schmeltz, J. D. E., A Primitive Musical Instrument. IAE, XI, 89—90. 1898.

Schrieke, B. J. O., Allerlei over de besnijdenis in den Indischen Archipel. Tijd., LX, 373—578; LXI, 1—94. 1921—1922.

113

Semon, R. W., In the Australian Bush and on the Coast of the Coral See. London, 1899.

Sinar Selebes Selatan, 1941.

Sinia, J. G., Het Boeginese huis. NION. 1941.

—— Een en ander over Soppeng. NION, IV, 99—106. 1919—1920.

Slot, J. A., Koro in Zuid-Celebes. GTNI, LXXV, 811—820. 1935.

Spat, C., De rijkssieraden van Loewoe. Nion, III, 64—72. 1918—1919.

Spoor, A. Jr., Het een en ander omtrent de inheemsche rechtsgemeenschap, in het bizonder de boegineesche, in het rechtsstreeks bestuurd gebied van het Gouvernement Celebes en Onderhorigheden. KT, 17, 164—198, 315—336, 429—465. 1928.

Staden ten Brink, P. B. van, Zuid-Celebes. Bijdragen tot de krijgsgeschiedenis en militaire geographie van de Zuidelijke landtong van Celebes. Utrecht, 1884.

Stapel, F. W., Het Bongaais verdrag. Groningen, 1922.

—— Cornelis Janszoon Speelman. 1936.

St. John, H., The Indian Archipelago, 2 dln. London, 1883.

Stok, N. P. van der, Het eiland Saleijer. Tijd., XV, 298—445. 1866.

Straelen, V. van, Résultats scientifiques du voyage aux Indes orientales néerlandaises de LL. AA. RR. le Prince et la Princesse Léopold de Belgique. 6 dln. Bruxelles, 1931—1933.

Streifzüge im Hinterindischen Archipelagus. Globus, XXIV, 161—166, 177—182, 193—200. 1873.

Sutherland, R., Jaarboekje van Celebes. Makassar, 1864—1866.

Teijsmann, J. E., Bekort verslag eener botanische dienstreis naar het Gouvernement van Celebes en Onderhoorigheden. NTNI, 54—125. 1879.

Temminck, C. J., Coup-d'oeil général sur les possessions néerlandaises dans l'Inde Archipélagique. 3 dln. Leiden, 1846—1849.

—— The Geographical Group of Celebes. JIAEA, IV, 664—686, 761—765; V, 180—185, 250—253. 1850—1851.

Tichelman, G. L., Aanteekeningen betreffende woningtypen en Boegineesche gebruiken bij huizenbouw in de z.g. Tanah Boemboe landen. (O. kust van Borneo). MVGNI. 1932.

Tideman, J., De Batara Gowa op Zuid-Celebes. Bijd., LXI, 350—390. 1908.

—— Het landschap Bone. TNAG, 2e s., LII, 68—84. 1935.

—— Het landschap Laikang. Bijd., LIX, 648—657. 1906.

—— Een Makassaarsche hertenjacht. Tijd. BB, XXIV, 391—399. 1903.

—— De Makassaren. Haarlem, 1909.

—— De schaking bij de Makassaren. Tijd. BB, XXXIII, 555—578. 1907.

—— Een tocht van uit Tjamba. IG, XXVI, I, 228—234. 1904.

Tideman, J., De Toe Badjeng en de legende omtrent hun oorsprong. Bijd., LX, 488—500. 1908.

—— Gegevens over land en volk van Enrekang. KT, 22, 359—374, 467—488. 1933.

—— Een Makassaarsch Adathuwelijk. KT, 23, 66—77. 1934.

Tromp, S. W., Eenige mededeelingen omtrent de Boegineezen van Koetei. Bijd., XXXVI, 167—198. 1887.

Uit den Indischen Archipel. AHV, XI, 81—102. 1875.

Valentijn, F., Oud en nieuw Oost-Indien. 8 dln. Dordrecht, 1724—1726.

Vogel, H. de, Mededeelingen betreffende Sidenreng, Rapang en Soepa. Bijd., LX, 175—180. 1908.

Vollenhoven, C. van, Het Adatrecht van Nederlandsch-Indië. Dl. I, 370—382. Leiden, 1931.

Vorstman, F., Het Gouvernement Celebes en Onderhoorigheden en zijn hoofdplaats Makassar. TEG, II, 379—392. 1911.

De vraag, of in ... Celebes ... pandelingschap wettelijk bestaat. ITR, X, 533—546. 1854.

Vries, S. de, Frikius, C., Hesse, E., en Schweitzer, C., Reysen in Oost-Indien gedaen door C. Frikius, E. Hesse en C. Schweitzer, van 't jaar 1675 tot 1686. Amsterdam, 1705.

Vroklage, B. A. G., Die sozialen Verhältnisse Indonesiens: eine kulturgeschichtliche Untersuchung. Band I: Borneo, Celebes und Molukken. Anthropos-Bibliothek, Band IV, Heft 1. Münster in Westf., 1936.

Vuuren, L. van, Correspondentie met Dr. A. C. Kruyt aangaande overblijfselen uit den voortijd van Celebes. NBGKW, LVII, 26—32. 1919.

—— Het Gouvernement Celebes. 2 dln. Den Haag, 1921.

—— Lijkverbranding op Celebes. NBGKW, LI, I—IV, 1913.

—— De prauwenvaart en de inlandsche handel van West-Celebes. TEG, VIII, 160—162. 1917.

W., H. O., Kampong Bontorannoe bij Makassar. AHV, LXXI, 144—147. 1935.

Wall, V. I. van de, Nederlandsche oudheden in Celebes. NION, XV, 293—305. 1930—1931.

Wallace, A. R., Australasia. London, 1883.

—— The Malay Archipelago. London, 1869, 1872, 1922.

Weber, M., Ethnographische Notizen über Flores und Celebes. IAE, III, Supplement. 1890.

—— Celebes en Flores. TNI, 4e s., XIX, I, 382—389. 1890.

Wesseling, J. J., Grondrechten der inlandsche bevolking van de Wanoea Belawa (landschap Wadjo, afdeeling Bone). KT, XXVIII, 399—406. 1939.

Wessels, C., Portugeezen en Spanjaarden in den Indischen Archipel tot

113

aan de komst van de O.I. Compagnie 1515—1605. Zie Stapel. F. W., Geschiedenis van Nederlandsch Indië, Dl. 2. Amsterdam, 1938.

—— Wat staat geschiedkundig vast over de oude Missie in Zuid Selèbès of het land van Makassar? Studien, Tijdschrift voor Godsdienst, Wetenschap en Letteren, N.R., jg. 57, 1925.

Wichmann, A., De oorsprong van den naam Celebes. G, LX, II, 328—339. 1896.

Wiggers, H. G., Schets van het regentschap Kadjang. Tijd., XXXVI, 247—278. 1893.

Willems, W., Merkwaardige praehistorische schelpartefacten van Celebes en Java. CI, 1, 181—185. 1939.

Williams, M. O., Around the World for Animals. NGM, LXXIII, 665—714. 1938.

—— Celebes, New Man's Land of the Indies. NGM, LXXVIII, 51—82. 1940.

Woodard, D., Narrative of Captain Woodard and Four Seamen, Who Lost Their Ship and Surrendered Themselves up to the Malays in the Island of Celebes. London, 1805.

Wulfften Palthe, P. M. van, Koro, een eigenaardige angstneurose. GTNI, LXXIV, 1713—1720. 1934.

—— Aanvulling op het artikel: Koro, een eigenaardige angstneurose. GTNI, LXXV, 836—837. 1935.

Zeggelen, M. van, Bij het hart van Indië. Amsterdam, 1926.

—— De gouden kris.

—— De schat van den Armen Jongen.

—— Bin en Aroe naar het Land van beschaving. Scheltema en Holkema's Boekhandel, Amsterdam.

Z(entgraaff), H. C., Celebes-problemen. Overdrukken uit het Soer. Handelsblad, Febr./Maart 1929.

Zimmermann, W. F. A. (Vollmer, C. G. W.), Die Inseln des Indischen und Stillen Meeres. 3 dln. Berlin, 1863—1865.

Zollinger, H., Verslag van eene reis naar Bima en Soembawa en naar eenige plaatsen op Celebes, Saleier en Flores. VBGKW, XXIII, 1850.

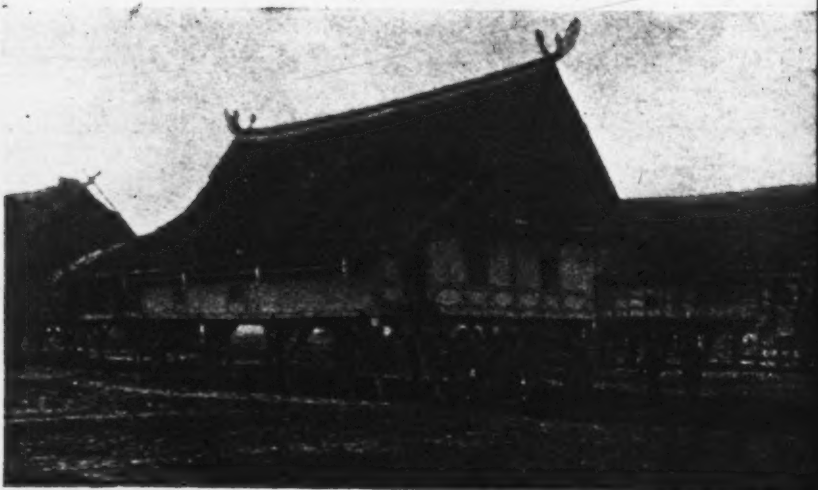
241
342

Landscape in Goa. Sawahs and groves alternate. Page 19.
(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

241
291

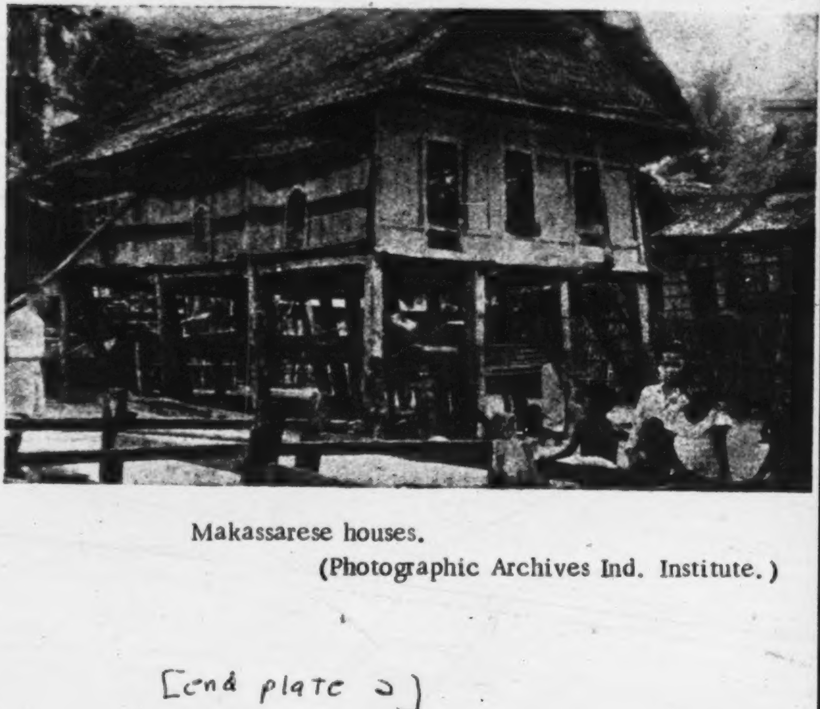
During the harvest; a group of women. Page 199.
(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

[end plate 1]



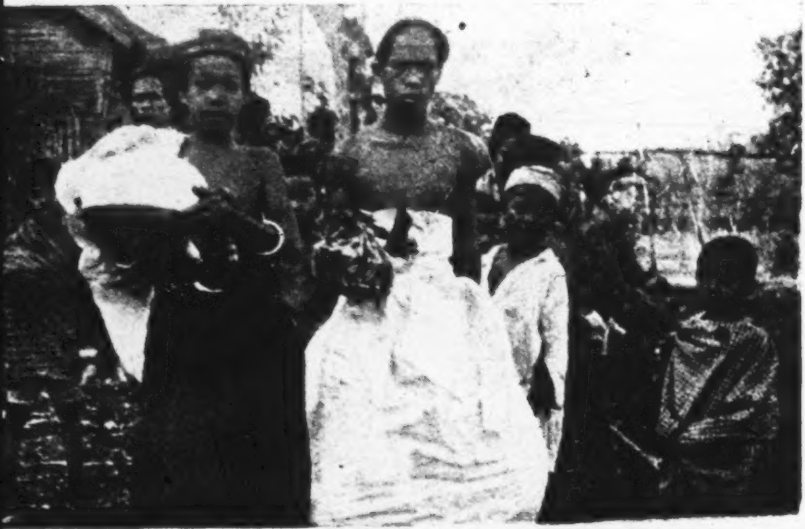
Makassarese houses.
(Photographic Archives Ind. Institute.)

[291]
[417]



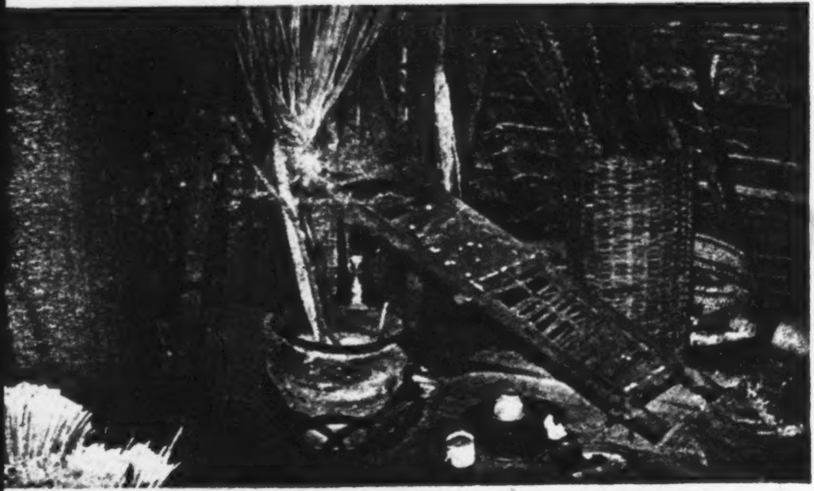
Makassarese houses.
(Photographic Archives Ind. Institute.)

[end plate 2]



585
602
291
301
482

A cousin (samposikali) of the bridegroom carries the kampu (left in the photograph) with the bride price to the house of the bride. Page 115.



769
778
352
415

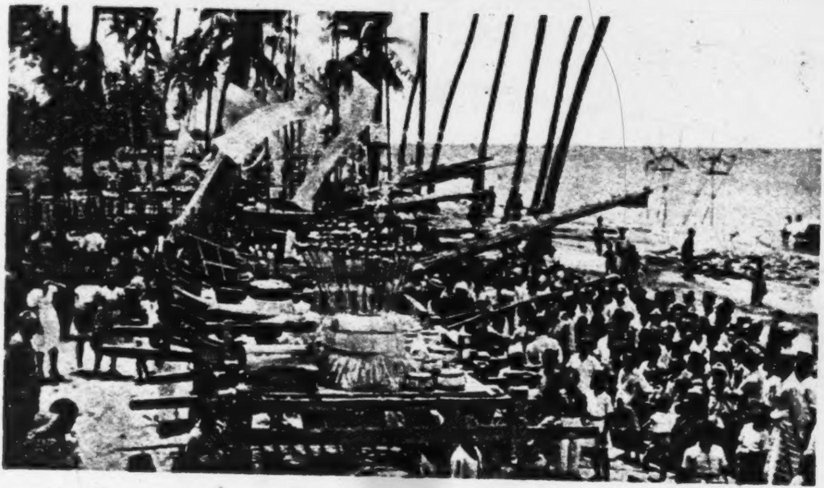
The little ancestral house (pantasa') in the attic, with ingredients for the ritual. Page 86.

[END plate 3]

796
462
292
516
142

Before the commencement of the Dikir on the occasion of the Maulud festival in Laikang. Dikir is men's work; a girl is jokingly chased away. Page 193.

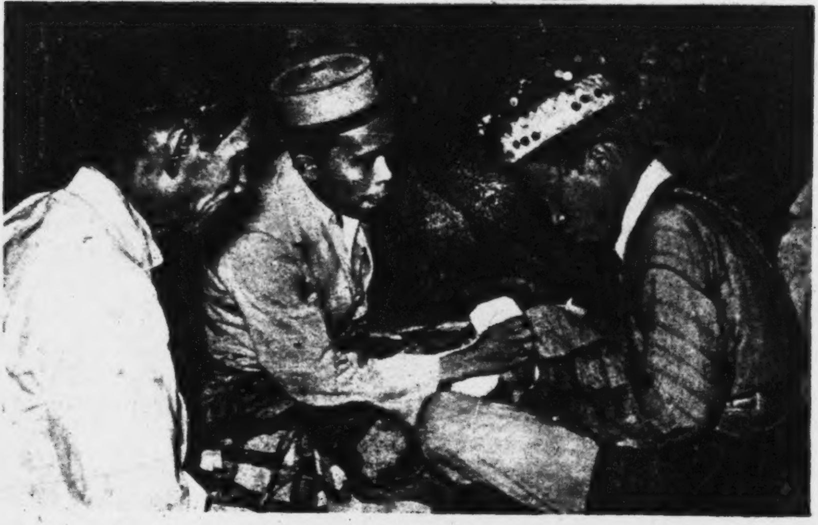
796
631
417



General view of the Maulud festival in Laikang. The scaffolds are sent in by kampongs. In their size and construction the competitive spirit between kampongs finds expression.

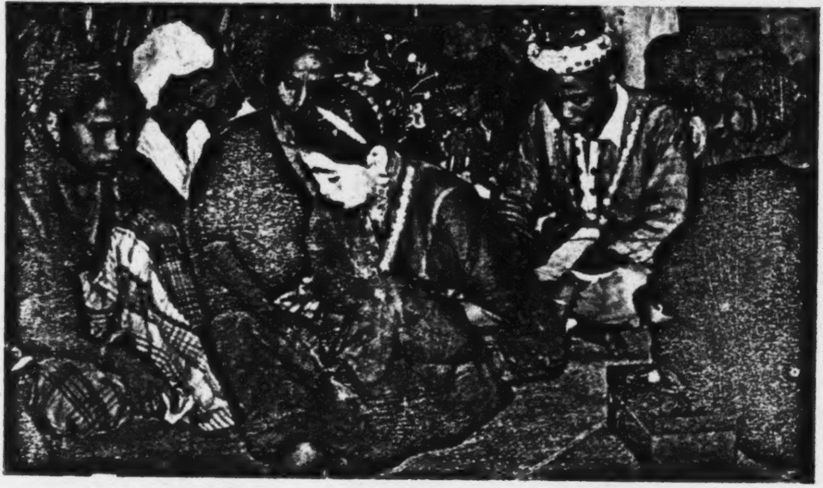
[end plate 4]

(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)



585
292
516
142

The Imam of Borongloë (center) marries the bridegroom (right); to the left in the foreground is the father of the bride; to the right in the background the back of the bride can be seen. Pages 259-260.



292
585
516

Bride and bridegroom amidst the women and children waiting for their first joint "meal." Page 263.

(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

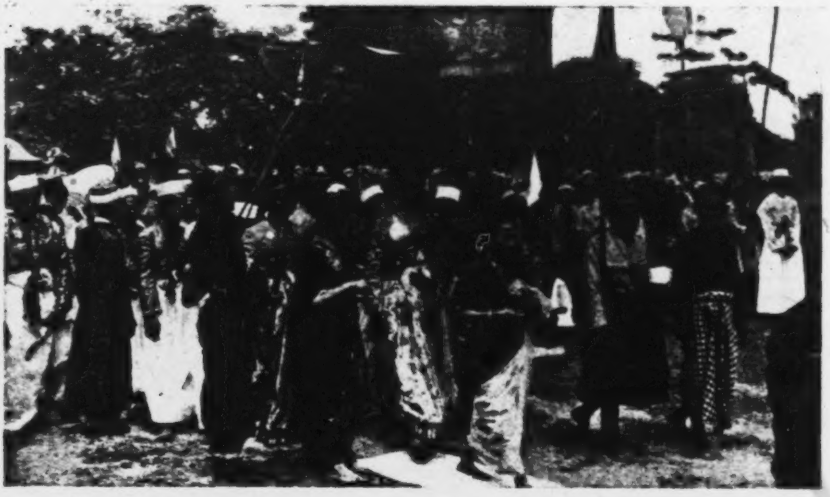
[end plate 5]

585
554
516
291
415
824

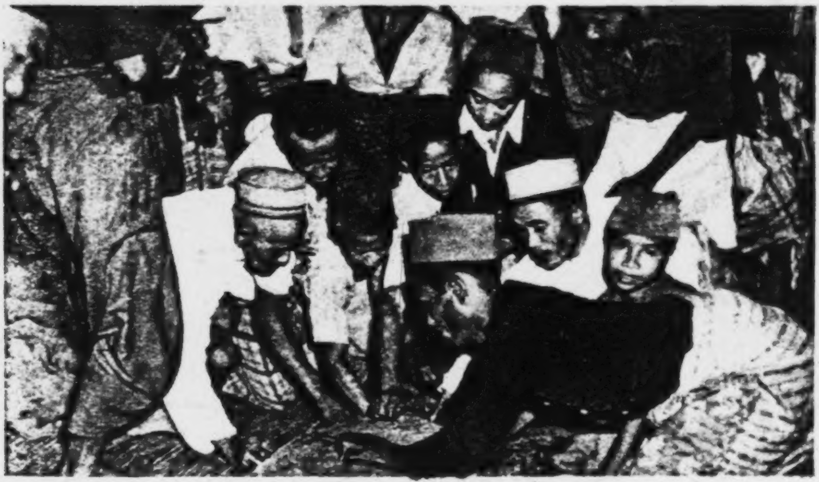
During the festive meal in the pannjambungi, the men sit in rows according to their prestige. Pages 195-196 and 243. In the foreground one can see, among other things, the coconuts, whose contents will be poured over the bridal couple at their first common bath. Page 265.
(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

[end plate 6]

643
648
291
293



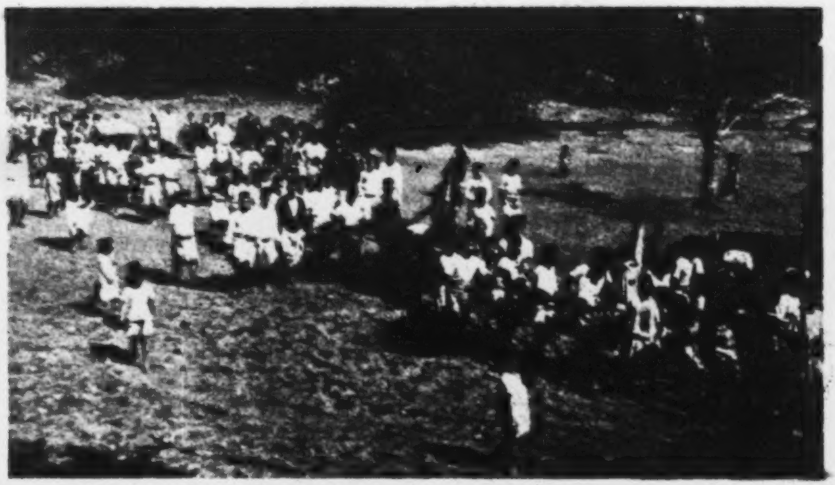
Inauguration of the Prince of Goa in 1947. During the procession.
(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)



After the inauguration, many try to obtain a bit of the earth next to the investiture stone. Compare page 66.
(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

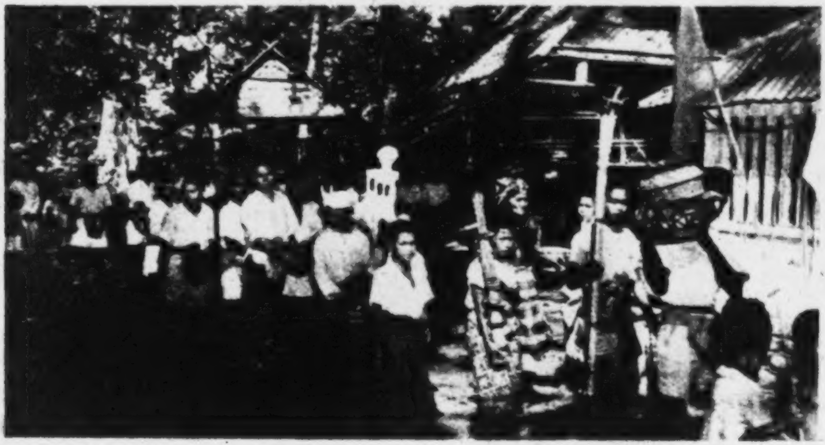
[end plate 7]

796



Procession from the house of the adat community head of Borongloë to the sacred spot. The buffalo to be slaughtered (with a white cloth on its back), is led along. See, among others, pages 93 and 98.

(Photo I. T. C. O.)



The same procession. In the middle, wearing a white headdress, one can see the pinati. (Page 82.) Young men are carrying the objects required for the ritual.

(Photo I. T. C. O.)

[end plate 8]

1:Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

304
852
516
301

During a circumcision festival held for a son of the adat community head, he and his little sister also have their teeth filed.

(Photo I. T. C. O.)

302
852
291
301

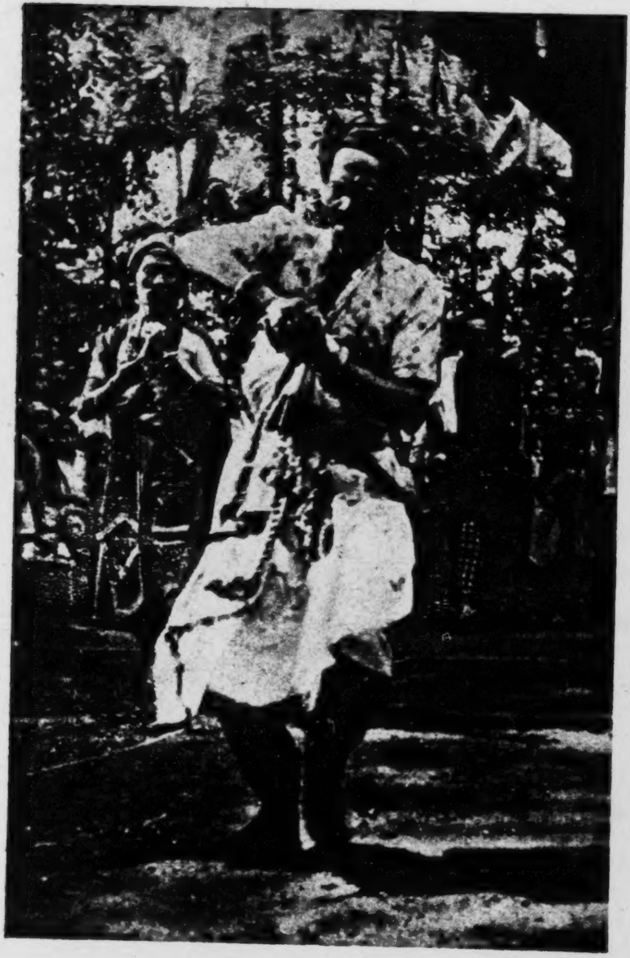
On the occasion of the same festival, the old Imam also cuts the children's hair in a ritual manner.

(Photo I. T. C. O.)

[end plate 9]

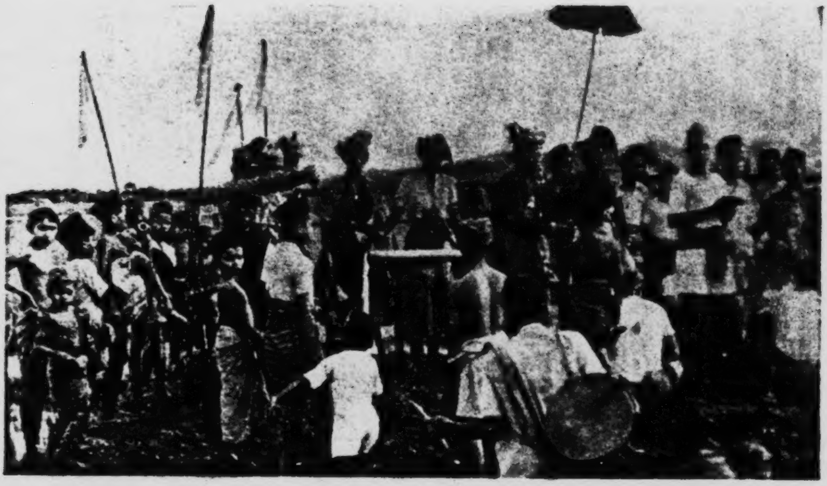
1:Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar
OG6

291
535
786
838



Bissu of Segeri during their dance, in which they are in a trance and attempt to press a kris into the body. Pages 208-209.
(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

[end plate 10]



241
291
838
416

Bissu of Segeri during the plowing ritual on the ornament sawah. In the photograph, the *bissu* are recognizable by the fact that they wear glasses. Pages 101 and 208-209.

(*Voorlichting*, East Indonesia.)

[end plate 11]